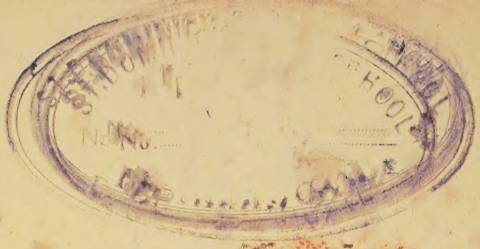

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CHARITY AND TRUTH;

OR,

CATHOLICS

NOT UNCHARITABLE IN SAYING, THAT NONE ARE SAVED OUT OF

The Catholic Church.

BY

REV. DR. EDWARD HAWARDEN.

PUBLISHED WITH THE APPROBATION OF THE

RIGHT REV. BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

THAT a book should be not only interesting but instructive, something more is necessary than mere beauty of style, or elegance of composition. There must be, moreover, a subject of importance; and that subject has to be well sustained. But that even such a book should not fail to work its way into the public mind, a fitness of time and circumstance is necessary.

The work which now, in its first American edition, presents itself to the general reader, seems to possess many of the above advantages. The matter of which it treats is of the highest importance—the destiny of the Christian soul: whilst the manner in which it is treated throws around it a deep, and even exciting interest. What more deeply interesting, than the examination of the only means by which the soul shall secure the benefits of redemption? The tendency, too, of the present age, and particularly in this country,

has a peculiar affinity to the times and circumstances, in which the work was originally produced.

After the experience of a century, Protestantism found itself obliged to change its mode of warfare. From denouncing the Catholic Church as idolatrous, as the Scarlet Lady of Babylon, &c., she became, at last, content to seek a share in that Church's inheritance; and merely blamed her for refusing to others that heritage which Christ had promised to her children alone. Then, as now, heresy found the Church of God invulnerable. Then, as now, she sought to disparage, as uncharitable, what she found it impossible to impeach as untrue. And the same shifting tactics, which attempted to impede the progress of the True Church of Christ, two hundred years ago, are again adopted to defame what they cannot destroy.

Wearied by the uselessness of their efforts to fasten error on the Catholic Church, her enemies have recourse to popular strategy; and thus wish to cover or conceal their own defeat. Anxious to stand well with a world, which they can no longer deceive, they are, now, satisfied to obtain the character of being Charitable, without maintaining their ground of possessing Truth.

This valuable work, so fitly termed Charity and Truth, was written about the close of the seventeenth

century, and was intended to meet the newly invented phase of ever-varying Protestantism, that Charity, ever kind, should not exclude the Reformers from being a portion of the Church of Christ. The liberal tendencies of the present day seem to require that Truth should be heard, in order to regulate that "Charity which thinketh no evil." For it is not charity, but cruelty, to be silent when principles, destructive of Truth, are so freely put forth. Indeed the various questions, which are so fully examimined in this work, would, at any time, be worthy of mature consideration; but in the present state of the so called religious world, they possess an interest and importance, not to be neglected without a fearful responsibility. Religion is, just now, a peculiar article. Altogether necessary to be had, in name, but to be totally disregarded as to its real character or defined attributes. To be without religion, is to be deemed irreligious, whilst to hold to any peculiar form or nature of religion, is to be regarded as uncharitable and sectarian. In such a state of society, the study of such a work as Charity and Truth becomes a matter of grave necessity.

Of the writer of Charity and Truth, it may be interesting to give a detailed sketch. He was born in England, about the middle of the seventeenth century; and was one of those noble confessors and

martyrs, whom the illustrious English secular College, at Douay, sent forth to re-illumine, in their native land, that faith which Henry VIII., and his cruel daughter, Elizabeth, had well nigh extinguished in the blood of her children. We shall quote the words of their worthy successor, the great Dr. Milner:

"Dr. Edward Hawarden, one of the most profound theologians, and able controvertists of his age, was born about the middle of the seventeenth century, near Tamworth, in Lancashire, the county which since the *Deformation* of religion in England, by the unprincipled Henry and Elizabeth, has proved its principal support. He was sent at an early age to the English secular College, at Douay, in Flanders, which had been founded, about a century before, by the immortal Dr. Allen, of Rosshall, in the aforesaid county. Among the fellow students of Dr. Hawarden, who have left memorials of their benefits to the cause of religion, by their learned and pious works, were Silvester Jenks, Dr. Robert Witham, and Robert Manning. Indeed, the controversial works of the last mentioned, in point of utility, may be put on a level with those of Hawarden himself. Possessing uncommon talents, and equal assiduity, Hawarden could not fail of distinguishing himself, throughout the whole course of his studies. Hence when these were

finished, and he had received holy orders, he was appointed to direct the studies of others, being successively professor of the classics, philosophy, and divinity. Whilst he was employed in teaching the latter science, and in qualifying himself for the degree of doctor in divinity, he engaged in the most laborious and useful of all his works, which took him upwards of twenty years to complete, namely, a complete body of theology, both speculative and practical, extracted from the most approved Divines and Canonists, and adapted to the use of English missionaries. This important work, owing, probably, to the expensiveness of the undertaking, has never yet been printed."

After some years Dr. Hawarden left the College, and entered upon the mission in his native district of the North. Upon what occasion he exchanged this for the London mission is not known. To all appearance he was called up to confront, in person, the renowned champion of Arianism, Dr. Samuel Clarke, whom he had, before, confuted with his pen, and to defend, on the part of the Catholics, the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Dr. Hawarden resided several years after in the metropolis, where he died in the year, 1736. His printed works are: 1. The True Church of Christ, &c., in answer to Leslie's Case Stated. 2. Charity and Truth, or Catholics not un-

charitable in saying that none can be saved out of the Catholic Communion. 3. Catholic Grounds, &c. 4. Discourses on Religion, between a Minister and a Catholic Gentleman. 5. The Rule of Faith, truly stated. 6. Wit against Reason, or Chillingworth not invulnerable. 7. An Answer to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston, concerning the Divinity of the Son of God."

J. P. D.

Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1860.

PREFACE.

THE only great, I might say, the only business of a Christian in this life, is salvation. In this we are all equally and infinitely concerned. And there cannot be a more signal instance of the prodigious corruption of the present age, than that an universal concern of the highest nature should be almost universally neglected. Religion, they say, is the parson's business; he maintains his wife and his family by it. But is conscience the parson's business too? If the people lose it, and heaven with it, is it the parson's loss? Are they no sufferers by it?

2. But God is infinitely good: and it is hoped that men may live as they please in this world, and yet may enjoy a better when they die. God is infinitely good, but he is also true to his word. He has revealed his will, and will infinitely reward all those who do it. But he never promised Heaven to such as either will not take true pains to find it, or will not sacrifice their most darling passions to procure it, or who are not afraid to wrest his words to their own perdition. Let his word be our rule, and his church our guide, and we have nothing to fear.

3. St. Paul gives us more than * once, a large catalogue of sins, which, without repentance, exclude men

* 1 Cor. vi., v. 9, 10. Gal. v., v. 19, 20, 21.

from the kingdom of God. And yet into how many follies do we see them run in this licentious age? It is a rakish opinion that all men go to heaven; and I am willing to believe that none but rakes and infidels can entertain a fancy so directly opposite to the word of God. For if all men go to heaven how came the * rich man into hell? Why is Capernaum to be cast down † into it? Why is he who calls his brother "Fool," liable to hell-fire? ‡

4. To this they tell us, that no one is damned to eternity: that after a certain time all sinners, how wicked soever, will be released from hell and carried into heaven. It seems eternal torments are the only things which rakes and infidels dread. But it is not plainer in scripture, that there is either a heaven or a hell, than that the torments in the latter shall endure to eternity. For how do the sins mentioned by St. Paul exclude men from the kingdom of God, if all men shall at length be placed in it? And how does this agree with the account the Judge himself gives of the last trial? For § when the Son of Man shall come in his glory, all nations shall be brought before him, and he will separate them one from another, as a shepherd divides his sheep from the goats. And he will set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left. To those on his right

* St. Luke xvi., v. 23.

† St. Matt. xi., v. 23. St. Luke x., v. 15.

‡ St. Matt. v., v. 22.

But see Gal. iii., v. 1, and St. Luke xxiv., v. 25. For in some cases to call one, Fool, is an act of justice, and no sin at all.

§ St. Matt. xxv., v. 31, &c.

hand he will give the possession of his kingdom; and will say to those on his left, "Depart from me, you accursed, into everlasting fire." And lest sinners might think that the fire is eternal, but not the punishment, he adds, * "And these shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life." So that either the gospel is false, or the punishments of vice are as endless as the rewards of virtue.

5. But leaving rakes and infidels: there are still vulgar errors relating to salvation, which deserve our notice.

FIRST VULGAR ERROR.

That it is charity to suppose all men saved whose life is morally honest.

True, if the Christian religion acknowledges nothing necessary for salvation besides moral honesty. But if this, and many other duties are equally necessary, as we shall see hereafter, it is against common sense to say, that charity supposes all men saved who have common justice or moral honesty with regard to others. Charity desires the salvation of all men, but it does not think that all are saved; or that all are saved who comply with one duty necessary for salvation. For divine revelation and common sense are the only rules by which true charity judges of the salvation of men. To these, false charity has no regard, and therefore she dis-

* St. Matt. xxv., v. 46.

penses her imaginary favors with a more liberal hand. But hell and the fool's paradise are the very same place, and differ only in name.

SECOND VULGAR ERROR.

6. *That the infinite goodness of God will not suffer the greatest part of mankind to perish.*

No one perishes who fears and loves God above all things. But that the greatest part of mankind are endued with this fear and love, is a great mistake. For nothing is plainer in the scripture, than that with regard to those who perish—"few are saved."* "Many are called," says our blessed Saviour, "but few are chosen." And,† "Enter," says he, "at the strait gate: for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leads to destruction, and many enter at it. How strait is the gate, and narrow the way which leads to life, and few they are who find it!" Few, therefore, comply with the conditions on which heaven is promised. Few are faithful in the discharge of all duties necessary to salvation. Few fear and love God above all things. Few are either so innocent as never to have fallen into a state of sin, or so truly penitent, that they abhor nothing so much as their past disorders.

7. But did God make the greatest part of mankind to be forever miserable? No. He neither made the

* St. Matt. ch. xx., v. 16. Ch. xxii., v. 14.
† St. Matt. vii., v. 13, 14.

greatest, nor any part of mankind for so ignoble an end. He made us to be happy forever in the enjoyment of himself. For this we were all designed by his mercy. And this merciful design, which nothing but sin could hinder from having its full effect, has peopled heaven with innumerable saints; a glorious army of conquerors gathered from all nations under the sun. For though the number of saints is small and inconsiderable, if compared with the rest of mankind; yet it is very great in itself. For the Catholic Church, which is the Communion of Saints, has been, or will be in all the parts of the earth. And St. John saw in heaven * a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues. But if the greatest part of mankind will not observe the conditions on which heaven is promised; if they will abuse their liberty, and rebel against God: if they will fight against their own conscience and against the Almighty, under the banners of Lucifer and his wicked associates; if neither allegiance, nor faith, nor reason, nor conscience, nor benefits, nor threats, nor the passion of the Son of God, nor endless torments, nor infinite rewards can hinder them from engaging in a war against their Maker, their best and only benefactor, without repentance, and without a possibility of success in this most villainous and most outrageous attempt: they must suffer as their folly and their crime deserves, that is, eternally. For there is no middle state forever. And every deliberate mortal sin, if weighed by the offended majesty of God in the weights of the sanctuary,

* Apoc. vii., v. 9.

is high treason against the King of kings, and of infinite malice in his sight. And when by divine justice the sinner is cut off without repentance; as the guilt of his sin remains forever, so must the just punishment of it remain without end.

THIRD VULGAR ERROR.

8. *That it is charity to believe that Jews and Turks are saved.*

For the Christian revelation gives us no assurance that any one of riper years is saved without faith in Christ. St. Paul everywhere represents him as our * propitiation by faith. And St. Peter tells us, that † there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved.

FOURTH VULGAR ERROR.

9. *That if I judge more favorably of the salvation of another than he does of mine, I am the more charitable of the two.*

This, I say, is a vulgar error: for a charitable judgment, and a favorable judgment, are quite different things.

A favorable judgment is a judgment in your favor

* Rom. iii., v. 25. Gal. ii., v. 16, &c.
† Acts iv., v. 12.

be it right or wrong. A charitable judgment is that which is grounded on truth, and which proceeds from the love of God above all things. So that a charitable judgment may be very unfavorable, and a favorable judgment may be very uncharitable. As will manifestly appear by these instances.

If sober men say with St. * Paul, that drunkards cannot be saved; this judgment is both charitable and neccessary, though not favorable to the sottish friends of the bottle, whom it condemns. But are drunkards more charitable than sober men, because they judge more favorably of their salvation; I mean that sober men may be saved though drunkards cannot? Again, if sober men should think that drunkards are in a state of salvation: this opinion, how much soever in their favor, would be highly uncharitable, by encouraging them in their wickedness. Another instance is this: robbers say, that honest men may be saved; and honest men say, that highwaymen cannot. Whether then is an honest man or a highwayman the more charitable? If the highwayman is not the more charitable of the two, it is a vulgar error, that If I judge more favorably of the salvation of another than he does of mine, I am the more charitable of the two.

*1 Cor. vi., v. 10. Gal. v. 19, 21.

FIFTH VULGAR ERROR.

10. *That setting all other considerations apart, if Protestants judge more favorably of the salvation of Catholics, than Catholics do of theirs, Protestants are on the more charitable side.*

For is it not a great error which would make drunkards more charitable than such as are sober; and highwaymen, or any other villains, more charitable than those who are honest? Yet this is manifestly the case. See how it stands betwixt them and St. Paul. For it is only in his sense that I take the word heretics. We adulterers, drunkards, idolators, heretics, and highwaymen grant that St. Paul is saved: he affirms * that we cannot be saved; therefore we are more charitable than St. Paul.

Whether any Protestant writer or preacher of note, was ever so far overseen as to slip into this wretched fallacy, I shall not trouble myself to examine. But the judicious rabble thinks it better than all the demonstrations in the world; and is entirely convinced by this manifest sophistry, by this false and foolish reasoning; which, if it has any force against Catholics, has the same against St. Paul in the instance above mentioned. So far, indeed, they are in the right, that if the Catholic religion is uncharitable, it is not Christ's religion. But if they think this proved sufficiently by an argument which may as well be urged against St. Paul and his writings, they are certainly and shamefully in the wrong.

* Gal. v., v. 19, 20, 21.

SIXTH VULGAR ERROR.

11. *That he is uncharitable, whoever supposes that none are saved in any other religion, unless they are excused by invincible ignorance.*

This, I say, is a very great error; because it makes all Christians, and even the Apostles uncharitable. For does not every Christian who thinks himself in the right, that is, who thinks his own religion clearly revealed, suppose that none are saved in any other, unless they are excused by invincible and involuntary ignorance? For can they err against the plain word of God without being ignorant? And if their ignorance be voluntary and criminal, are they in a state of salvation? Again, did not St. Paul, and the rest of the Apostles who believed and taught the whole Christian religion, suppose that none were saved who did not believe all the articles or parts of it, unless they were excused by invincible ignorance?

12. When our adversaries therefore think fit to support their charge of uncharitableness against Catholics, two things are requisite. The first is, that they take care to avoid these vulgar errors. The second is, that they avoid all degrees of sophistry and false reasoning. For these prove nothing, but only the weakness of the cause in which they are employed.

13. If you ask me, Why there are so many divisions in Christendom, if all men ought to be of the same faith, and in the same communion? Perhaps I cannot answer this question better than by another. Why did not the doctrine and miracles of Christ convert all

Judea? Why did not the doctrine and miracles of the Apostles convert the Roman empire, and all the world to which they preached? The answer is obvious and undeniable. As many as feared God and took their salvation to heart, were converted. The rest, who were much more numerous, continued as they were before, though the evidence in reason could not be questioned. And will not the same rule hold for all the divisions, which are, or ever were in Christendom, or rather in the world? Yet how hard is it to convert either a Jew, a Turk, an Infidel or a Dissenter? Because they do not fear God, nor take salvation to heart. St. Paul preached in * Athens, that is, in the most learned and inquisitive city in the world. He preached in the Areopagus, which was one of the most venerable and august assemblies under the sun. And what was the issue, but the conversion † of one man, one woman, and of a few others. If then the evidence and eloquence of St. Paul reaped so little fruit, can we expect a large harvest? Though if the generality of mankind feared God, which hitherto they never did, and probably never will, much might be done. For the doctrine and motives of Christianity are known in all the chief parts of the universe. It must not therefore be denied but Jews, Turks, and Infidels, if they feared God, and had a due care for their salvation, would soon be Christians. And if all Christians had a due fear of God, would they not enter into his fold and into the strictest union imaginable? If so, the fear of God is the only Catholic

* Acts xvii., v. 16,17. † Ibid. v. 34.

remedy to heal all the wounds and divisions of Christendom. For to imagine that light and evidence is wanting for this great work, is to lay the fault of our divisions on the Divinity, and to make God the author of that which he condemns.

14. But is not the Catholic Church highly uncharitable in coining new articles of faith, and in obliging all men to believe them?

To this I answer, first, If her adversaries are to be her judges, and judges in their own cause, She is. But if she is the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church; if she is the pillar and the support of truth, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; if she is the judge appointed by Christ in all disputes of religion, which she has always thought it both her duty and right to decide, in eighteen centuries; that is, if the creed, the scripture, and universal tradition is true; She is not uncharitable.

I answer, secondly, This objection, I fear, will not be of much credit to our adversaries. For, (without reflecting upon them,) it is the common cry of all Heretics, who ever were in Christendom. We have long and large catalogues of heretical sects, as well in the history and councils of the Church, as in the writings of Theodoret, of St. Augustine, of St. Epiphanius, of Tertullian, and of St. Irenæus. But there was never any heretical sect which did not accuse the Catholic Church of coining new articles of faith, and of obliging all men to believe them. And as our adversaries accuse the Council of Trent on this head, so did the Eutychians as freely accuse the Council of

Chalcedon; the Nestorians that of Ephesus; the Macedonians that of Constantinople; and the Arians that of Nicea. For as it is essentially necessary for all schismatics to accuse the Catholic Church of causal schism, so it is essentially necessary for all heresies, which either are or ever will be in the world, to accuse the Catholic Church of coining new articles of faith, and obliging all men to believe them. Why? Because schismatics are certainly offenders, unless the Catholic Church be guilty of their schism. And heretics have no claim to Christianity, unless they pretend to the faith first delivered to the Saints.

15. I must therefore beg leave to say, because it is undeniably true, that all heretics and schismatics, who ever were in Christendom, have accused the Catholic Church of UNCHARITABLENESS. All schismatics have proclaimed her uncharitable, by being the cause of their schism. All heretics have proclaimed her uncharitable, by coining new articles of faith, and obliging all men to believe them. A consideration which ought to make our adversaries more backward in renewing the charge. For heretics and schismatics are bad precedents. And St. Augustine makes it a question, Which is in the more dangerous condition, a most vicious Catholic, or a person who is guilty of heresy only?*

16. The subject which is treated of in the following papers, is of a large extent. And it seemed that I could neither dispatch it in fewer words, nor set it in a clearer light, than by the familiar method of questions

* Lib. iv. de Bapt., Cap. xx.

and answers. But I hope the reader will be so kind both to himself and me, as to bear the question constantly in mind, as long as he is reading the answer to it. For, without this, it will be impossible for him to judge, whether the proofs which I offer in defence of my answer be pertinent or not. To help the reader's memory, in the present impression, the questions, as far as is necessary, are set in a large character at the top of every page.

CHARITY AND TRUTH,

ETC., ETC., ETC.

CHAPTER I.

It is a general Rule of Catholic Faith, that there is no Salvation out of the Catholic Communion.

I. THERE is a difference, strictly speaking, between general and universal rules. General rules, how true soever, may have exceptions. But those rules only are strictly said to be universal, which have no exception at all. It may therefore be generally true, though not universally and without exception, that none are saved out of the Catholic Communion.

II. This difference will appear by the following instances:

First, It is true universally, that is without exception, that all are saved who die in the fear and love of God above all things.

2dly, It is also universally true, and without exception, that none have the fear and love of God above all things, who, either obstinately or by a criminal neglect, refuse to comply with a great and necessary duty of

Christianity, as to * love our enemies, to † believe the gospel when duly proposed, to ‡ be baptized, to § be a member of the Catholic Church.

3dly, It is generally true, but not without exception, that none are saved without baptism. This, I say, is a general, not an universal rule. For, first, we must except the ‖ Martyrs, who had not an opportunity of being christened. Secondly, we must except the ** Catechumens and others, who, having a true love of God above all things, and a desire of baptism, died before that sacrament could be administered to them. Thirdly, we must except those true lovers of God, who by an innocent and involuntary mistake think they were christened in their infancy, though indeed they were not. For these may be saved without ever receiving baptism in effect. Lastly, those may also probably be excepted, who have an invincible ignorance that Christians are commanded to be baptized.

4thly, It is a general, not an universal rule without any exception, that none are saved out of the Catholic Communion. For, as in baptism, so we may here except two cases. The first is that of an inevitable and involuntary necessity; as if a person who loves God above all things, desires to be baptized or to be received into the Catholic Communion, but dies before a priest can be called. The second is probably that of an involuntary and invincible ignorance; as if a person,

* St. Matt. v., v. 44. † St. Mark xvi., v. 16.
‡ St. Matt. xxviii., v. 19. § Acts ii., v. 47.
‖ St. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii., ad Jubaianum.
** St. Aug. Lib. iv. de Baptismo Cap. xxii., xxxiii., xxv.

who is out of the Catholic Communion, be ignorant, without any fault of his, of the true Church, and of the true religion.

III. Now that the reader may more easily judge of the matter before us, it will be necessary to let him see, 1st, the truth of this general rule of Catholic faith, that there is no salvation out of the Catholic Communion: 2dly, the exceptions which this rule may admit, to wit, invincible ignorance and invincible necessity: 3dly, what is meant by the Catholic Church, whose communion is so necessary. The first of these points will be examined in this, the rest in the following chapters.

QUESTION I.

Is it the common Duty of all Men to be in the Catholic Communion?

Answer. It is. And this is so very certain, that few or no Christian societies have ever doubted of it. But before I come to the proofs of this answer, something must be said concerning the ecclesiastical use of the word Catholic. According to which use, it signifies both orthodox and universal. So that the Catholic Communion is a joining in sacraments and public prayer with the universal and orthodox Church of Christ, the Church of all ages since his time, and in a limited sense, the Church of all nations. And a Catholic is a member of the true and universal Church, adhering to Christ, and to the governors whom he appointed. For because Christians were, or might be

divided into different sects and communions; therefore the word Catholic was instituted to signify the great and orthodox body of true believers, as distinct not only from Pagans, Jews, and other infidels, but also from heretics and schismatics of what kind or denomination soever, although they profess to believe in Christ, and to follow his purest doctrine and institutions. The Montanists, the Novatians, the Arians, the Donatists, the Macedonians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and almost all heretics and schismatics have been willing to call themselves Catholics. Our adversaries at present do the same.

First, Because we read in the Greek, * "That the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved. If to the Church, therefore to the orthodox and universal Church, and to her communion. And if he added to this communion such as should be saved, is it not the common duty of all persons to be joined in it, as all are bound to seek salvation?

Secondly, The same may be concluded, both from the creed and from other parts of the holy scripture. For if the Catholic Church be always the society and communion of saints; if she be always holy, and orthodox in stating the terms of communion with her; if she be always Apostolical; if she be † the pillar and support of truth; if he who will not hear her voice, even in private debates betwixt man and man, ought to be esteemed no better ‡ than a heathen and a publican; if Christ has built her § upon a rock, so that the gates of

* Acts ii., v. 47.
† 1 Tim. iii., v. 15
‡ St. Matt. xviii., v. 17.
§ St. Matt. xvi., v. 18.

hell shall not prevail against her; if she shall have peace with God * so long as the moon endures; if he † has and will establish her forever; if she be ‡ a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, but shall stand forever; if Christ will continue with her § at all times and days, and to the very end of the world; if he has promised her his ‖ spirit forever; if ¶ the spirit of God which is upon her, and the words which he has put in her mouth shall not depart out of her mouth, nor out of the mouth of her seed, nor out of the mouth of her seed's seed, says the Lord, from henceforth, and forever; if he has given her ** pastors and teachers, "till we all come into the unity of the faith, that henceforth we be not like children, tossed every way, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the wicked contrivances and slight of men, endeavoring to deceive us;" if he has even commanded the people to †† obey these pastors, to submit themselves to them and to follow their faith; that is, if the scripture and the creed be true; it is still the common, great, and indispensable duty of all mankind, to be joined in faith and communion with the Catholic Church. And if we are afraid least men deceive us, cannot God be trusted? To question it is not policy, but infidelity.

Thirdly, Because baptism and Catholic Communion are parallel cases. Of baptism it is said, ‡‡ "Unless one

* Ps. lxxi. Hebr. lxxii., v. 7.
† Ps. xlvii., v. 9. Heb. xlviii., 8.
‡ Dan. ii., v. 44.
§ St. Matt. xxviii., v. 20.
‖ St. Jo. xiv., v. 16.
¶ Isai. lix., v. 21.
** Eph. iv., v. 13, 14.
†† Hebr. xiii., v. 7, 17.
‡‡ Jo. iii., v. 5.

be born of water, and of the Spirit, even the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And of Catholic Communion,* "the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved." Baptism therefore and Catholic Communion are duties equally necessary to salvation. No one can be saved, who chooses to die without baptism, unless he have invincible ignorance either of his being unbaptized, or of the necessity of baptism. And no one can be saved who chooses to die out of the Catholic Communion, unless he be invincibly ignorant of the necessity which all men have of being joined in it.

Fourthly, Because the very institution of the Catholic Church lays a manifest obligation upon all men of receiving her faith and communion. For if a parliamentary church, although it be only a creature of the state, implies a politic and parliamentary command of conformity to it; because no Church, true or false, can subsist without subjects. Is it not undeniable, that the divine institution of One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, the Communion of Saints, the Church of all ages and the Church of all nations, the universal and orthodox Church, implies a divine and universal obligation of conformity to an establishment, so excellent and sacred, of which God himself is the author? And is there any hardship in this, but what is in a great measure imaginary? For is it really hard to conform to an orthodox Church? And as conformity is here the common duty of all men towards her; so it is also her

* Acts ii., v. 47.

duty to call all men to her Communion. This is what in the Greek, that is in the original language of the New Testament, her name imports. For she is styled "Ecclesia" not only because she herself is chosen and called to serve God, but also because she calls all men to his service and to her faith and communion. This she did in the apostolical age, and has never ceased to do since.

Fifthly, because St.* Paul reckons heresies and schisms amongst the manifest works of the flesh, of which he says over and over, that they who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God. It is plain from the gospel, that it is the duty, as well as the happiness of all men to be Christians. For he who believes not the gospel when duly proposed to him, shall be damned.† And it is also plain from the words of St. Paul, now mentioned, that all Christians ought to be Catholics, so to avoid the guilt of heresy and schism. Why? Because all Christians wilfully separated from the Catholic Church, are either heretics or schismatics: heretics, if separated from the Catholic faith; and schismatics, if separated from the Catholic communion. This lets us see how real and great a happiness it is to be a member of the Catholic Church; since all who are out of it, I mean wilfully, or by a criminal neglect, are either schismatics, heretics, or infidels.

II. I am not insensible, how violent and almost invincible prejudices may be innocently conceived, even

*Gal. v., v. 19, 20, 21. †St. Mark xvi., v. 16.

by those who are sincere and great lovers of truth against all which has been or will be proved on this subject with the utmost evidence, especially when those seeds of ignorance have been industriously spread and swelled from the pulpit, by all the means which error and interest can suggest. However, I cannot but reflect, that Quakers are as violent against baptism, as the warmest of our adversaries can be against the Catholic Communion; and that Christianity is as detestable in the Turkish Mosques, into which it is death for a Christian to enter, as Popery is in a Protestant assembly, or in a Presbyterian meeting-house. I cannot but reflect also, that till heresy and infidelity cease to be what they necessarily are, that is, till Dissenters cease to be Dissenters, truth will be always hated. But however injured, oppressed, misrepresented, and slandered, it will always be able to defend itself against ignorance and malice, though they be armed with power.

III. St. * Augustine says, "The Catholic Church alone is the body of Christ: the Holy Ghost gives life to no one who is out of this body." And in his sermon to the people of Algier, † "Salvation no one can have but in the Catholic Church. Out of the Catholic Church he may have anything but salvation. He may have honor, he may have baptism, he may have the gospel, he may both believe and preach, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but he can find salvation no where but in the Catholic

* Epist. clxxxv., § 50. Edit. Bened.
† T. ix., p. 622. Invet. Edit. T. vii.

Church. If he suffer out of it, though an enemy of Christ should say to him out of the Church of Christ, offer incense to idols, adore my gods, and should put him to death for the refusal; he may lose his life, but he cannot receive a crown."

IV. I need not here put the reader in mind, that the Catholic Church is only a part of Christendom. Nor was it ever any more than a part of it since heresies began.

In the first, that is in the Apostolical century, Christendom, besides true believers or Catholics, comprehended the Simonians, disciples of Simon Magus, the first reformer of Catholic faith, who pretended * to be the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and said, that his wife begot the angels who made the world, and the difference betwixt good and evil, from which slavery he came down to free mankind. It comprehended the Menandrians, a branch of the former heresy; the Gnostics, men of wicked morals and corrupt lives, who held with Simon Magus, that Christ had not a real body; the Nicolaites, equally infamous; the Cerinthians, who affirmed the necessity of circumcision, and of the other ceremonies of Moses's law, but held, that the Creator of the world did not know God; that a bad angel was the God of the Jews; that when Jesus was baptized, Christ came upon him in the form of a dove, but left him when he suffered; the Nazaræans, who also held the necessity of circumcision, and of all the other Jewish ceremonies; and the Ebionites,

* See Mons. Tillemont. Mem. Eccle. Tom. ii. p. 39, 40.

who in this agreed with the Nazaræans and Cerinthians, and added that Christ was a mere man. They rejected the prophets, and part of Moses's books. They condemned St. Paul, as an enemy to the law of Moses, and as an apostate; and of the New Testament, they received only the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, and corrupted several places in it.

V. Hence to guard and arm true believers against the heresies of that time, was a very considerable part of the charity and charge of the Apostles. St. Peter, in his Epistles, and St. Jude, attacked more particularly the Simonians and the Gnostics, as St. Paul, and St. John, the Evangelist, both in his gospel and in his epistles, did the Cerinthians and Ebionites. St. John calls them * Antichrists, and says there are † many of them. He adds ‡ "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us."

St. Paul, writing to the Galatians, anno 55, reckons § Heresies and schisms amongst the manifest works of the flesh, which exclude men from the kingdom of heaven.

And writing to the Corinthians in the following year, he tells them, "that ‖ there must be heresies, that those who are truly good may be made manifest."

As ¶ there must be Scandals; but wo! be to that man by whom scandal comes. And may we not say the same of Heresy, the greatest trial to which un-

* i. Jo., ii., v. 18, 22. i. Jo. iv., v. 3 ii. Jo. v. 7.
† i. Jo., ii., v. 18. ii. Jo. v. 7. ‡ i. Jo. ii., v. 19.
§ Gal. v., v. 19, 20, 21. ‖ i. Cor. xi., v. 19.
¶ St. Matt. xviii., v. 7.

guarded virtue is exposed, and which sometimes draws whole nations into perdition?

Anno 64, writing to St. Titus, Bishop of Candy or Crete, he says, that * "a heretic is subverted, that he sins, and that he is self-condemned and self-convicted, because he knows or ought to know his guilt. Yet St. Paul's Advice is, that he be twice admonished, before he is cast out of the Church.

The same year, writing to St. Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus, he fails not to put him in mind, that † some by putting away a good Conscience, have suffered shipwreck in their faith: of whom is Hymenæus, and Alexander, whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme. In the close of this Letter, he cautions St. Timothy ‡ against the Gnostics.

He wrote again to St. Timothy in the year following, and did not forget to warn him against heresy. He tells him, "that it spreads and eats § like a Gangrene which carries death with it. That the promoters are Hymenæus and Philetus, and that they ‖ subvert the faith of some."

And Christ himself condemned the ¶ Nicolaites by name.

* ad Tit. iii., v. 11.
† i. Tim. i., v. 19, 20.
‡ i. Tim. vi., v. 20.
§ ii. Tim. ii., v. 17.
‖ v. 18.
¶ Apoc. ii., v. 6, 15.

QUESTION II.

Is it a great and grievous Sin, for any one to live and die out of the Catholic Communion?

Answer. It is, setting aside invincible necessity and invincible ignorance; and is a necessary consequence from what was said and proved in answer to the last question.

For, first, If it be a necessary and great duty of all mankind to be in the Catholic Communion; it is a grievous sin to live and die out of it. For every violation of a great duty is a grievous sin. And to continue in the violation of such a duty, is to continue in a state of damnation.

Secondly, To live and die without baptism is a grievous sin, unless it be excused in riper years by invincible ignorance, or by invincible necessity. "For unless one be born of water and of the holy spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." But baptism and Catholic Communion are parallel cases in order to salvation. *

Thirdly, To rebel against the institution and command of God is a grievous sin. But the very institution of that Church, to which the Lord added daily such as should be saved, implies evidently his command, that all men should work their salvation in it.

Fourthly, heresy and schism, according to St. † Paul, are manifest works of the flesh, excluding men from the kingdom of God. But all Christians, who live and die

* St. John iii., v. 5, and Acts ii., v. 47.
† Gal. v., v. 19, 20, 21.

out of the Catholic Church, and are not excused by invincible necessity, or by invincible ignorance (of which in the next chapter) are guilty either of heresy, or of schism, or of both heresy and schism; of heresy, if they reject the Catholic faith, of schism, if they reject the Catholic communion; and of both heresy and schism, if they reject both the faith and communion of the Catholic Church.

II. Is not this uncharitable? if it be, you must either charge the scripture and the creed with it, or common sense. For if the gospel and the creed be true; to be in the communion of the orthodox and universal Church is as necessary to salvation as baptism. And common sense tells us, that the transgression of a duty necessary to salvation, is a grievous sin, unless it be excused by invincible necessity, or by invincible ignorance.

If it be uncharitable to let men see their duty, and the dangers which attend the violation of it; nothing was ever so uncharitable as the gospel, unless you will except the charity of God to us, which gave us the gospel. But if this be the height of impiety and nonsense; we must of necessity grant, that plain rules of Christian duties, how disagreeable soever to flesh and blood, should not be thought uncharitable. It is charity to inform a traveler, in the dark, of a dangerous precipice. It was charity in St. Paul, to give us a catalogue of damnable and * damning sins. And was it not charity in Christ to say, † he, who believes not, shall be damned?

* Gal v., v. 19, 20, 21. i. Cor. vi., v. 9, 10. † St. Mat. xvi., v. 16.

III. But though none are saved out of the Catholic communion, unless they be hindered from it, either by invincible necessity, or by invincible ignorance: yet the Catholic Church is far enough from thinking that all are saved, who live and die in her communion. She is the society and Communion of Saints, because none are saints out of her communion, if you except the two cases now mentioned: but all are not saints in it. For in the Catholic nets there are fish both * good and bad: there are both sheep and † goats, both corn and ‡ tares, in the Catholic field; and both wheat and § chaff on the Catholic floor.

IV. Though invincible ignorance undoubtedly excuses those actions from sin, which proceed from it: yet we are not sure, generally speaking, that any one is saved out of the Catholic communion, who is invincibly ignorant of the true Church. As we shall see ‖ hereafter.

Corollary. If what has been proved, in the answer to this question, from the principles of Christianity, be true: it is a general rule of Catholic faith, that none are saved out of the Catholic communion. For two exceptions cannot hinder a rule from being general. Especially since invincible necessity seldom happens: and we are not certain, generally speaking, that any one is saved out of the Catholic communion, who is invincibly ignorant of it.

* St. Mat. xiii., v. 47, 48, 49, 50. † St. Mat. xxv., v. 32.
‡ St. Mat. xiii., 24, 25, 30. § St. Mat. iii., v. 12.
‖ Chap. i. Q. iii. Num. iii. Chap. ii. Q. iv.

QUESTION III.

Is it a general Rule of Catholic Faith that none are saved out of the Catholic Communion, agreeable to Antiquity?

Answer. It is. But that the proofs from antiquity may be rightly understood, it will be requisite to say something concerning the state of the question. For first, It was never the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that none are saved who die out of the Catholic Communion, by an invincible necessity. As if a person who had lived out of that communion, is sensible of his error, and desires to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, but dies before a priest can be brought to him.

Secondly. It was never the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that invincible ignorance does not excuse those actions from sin, which proceed from invincible ignorance; or that men are liable to damnation for anything, but only for the guilt of mortal sin; or that there is any sure and safe way to heaven out of the Catholic Communion. When Catholics therefore say, as they have always said, that none are saved out of the Catholic Communion; their meaning is not that this rule is universal, but only that it is general. For invincible necessity must certainly be excepted, and invincible ignorance may probably be excepted too.

Their meaning is, that no one is saved unless he be in the Catholic communion, either actually, or virtually; either in fact, or in desire: and that we are not sure, generally speaking, that any one is saved out of the

Catholic Church, who is invincibly ignorant of the true Church, and of the true religion.

Their meaning is, that none are saved out of the Catholic communion, to whom the arguments for it have been sufficiently proposed, or who by their own fault have hindered them from being proposed sufficiently.

Their meaning is, that no one is saved who is out of the Catholic Communion, either obstinately, or by a criminal neglect: either by not using due and necessary endeavors to know the truth; or by rejecting it, when duly proposed; or by being in the fault, why it was either not proposed to him at all, or not proposed to him in a due and sufficient manner.

Their meaning in fine is, that there is no sure and safe way to Heaven out of the Catholic communion.

II. A fair adversary, therefore, must either show, that what Catholics mean is false and uncharitable, when they say, as they have always done from our Saviour's time to this, that there is no salvation out of the Catholic communion:

Or secondly, that what Catholics say here is uncharitable, although it be true:

Or thirdly, that what they say is false and uncharitable, though the sense and meaning of it be true and honest.

The two last parts scarce deserve to be confuted. And if it be true, that baptism and Catholic communion are parallel cases, and equally necessary to salvation; the first part falls on its own accord.

For though Catholics have frequently said in all ages,

that none are saved without baptism; yet their meaning is not, that this rule is universal, but only that it is general. For invincible necessity must certainly be excepted. And invincible ignorance in those who do not know that Christians are commanded to be baptized, may probably be excepted too.

Their meaning is, that no one is saved, unless he be baptized, either in fact or in desire: And that we are not sure generally speaking, that any one of riper years is saved without baptism, if he be invincibly ignorant, that Christians are commanded to be baptized.

Their meaning is, that no one is saved without baptism, to whom the arguments of it have been sufficiently proposed, or who by his own fault has hindered them from being proposed sufficiently.

Their meaning is, that no one is saved, who is deprived of baptism, either obstinately, or by a criminal neglect.

Their meaning in fine is, that to those of riper years (setting aside invincible necessity) there is no sure and safe way to Heaven without baptism.

III. After this I need not put the reader in mind, that the two exceptions, so often mentioned of invincible necessity, and invincible ignorance, in regard to Catholic communion, ought to be understood differently. For it is certain that those may be saved, who know which is the Catholic communion, but are hindered from it by an invincible necessity. Whereas it is not certain, but only probable, generally speaking, that any are saved out of the Catholic Church, who are invincibly ignorant of the true church, and of the true religion.

IV. But if the ancients say positively, that out of the Catholic communion all are bad, and that out of it no one at all is saved; can there be any solid ground either for an exception, or for a limitation? There may from the known sense of the Catholic Church.

For 1st. Though our blessed Saviour says positively, * he who believes not the gospel shall be damned: yet this text, if the meaning of it be as probably it is, he shall be damned for his unbelief; both may and must have this exception, unless the gospel was not sufficiently proposed to him, and he was not in the fault, why it was not proposed sufficiently.

Secondly, invincible necessity was always a known exception. And it is not an article of Catholic faith, that there is any other. I am willing to suppose, that invincible ignorance may also probably be excepted. But what Catholic faith teaches us, in regard to it, is no more than this, that the only safe way to Heaven is to be in the Catholic communion: and that we are not sure, generally speaking, that any one is saved out of it, how invincible soever his ignorance may be.

V. Now what are the arguments, which induced me to believe, that this general rule of Catholic faith, that none are saved out of the Catholic communion, was not unknown to antiquity.

The first is: that what follows by a plain and necessary consequence from the Scripture, as well as from the Apostolical and Nicene creed, could not be unknown to Christian antiquity.

*St. Mark xvi., v. 16.

But this general rule of Catholic faith, that none are saved out of the communion of the orthodox and universal Church, follows by a plain and necessary consequence from the scripture, as well as from the Apostolical and Nicene creed.

For if Christ has only one holy Catholic and apostolical Church, which is the communion of saints; if he has only one Church, which he built * upon a rock, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; if he has only one Church, † which is the pillar and support of truth, and with which he promised to continue ‡ always, even to the end of the world, and which is therefore the Church of all ages, as well as the Church of all nations; if he has only one Church, to which § the Lord added, and adds, daily such as shall be saved: then it is at least a general rule, of divine faith, that none are saved out of the communion of this Church. Nay, setting aside invincible ignorance, and invincible necessity, the rule is universal, and without exception.

The second argument is: that though christendom has been always divided into Catholics, and dissenters of different kinds; of which some attacked the fundamental and chief articles of religion, as the Marcionites, and the Manichæans; others the secondary and less principal articles of it, as the Novatians, and Donatists, or even matters of discipline only, and for them left the Catholic communion, as the Quarto Decimans: yet in regard to salvation, Catholics have always treated all

* St. Mat. xvi., v. 18.
‡ Mat. xxviii., v. 20.
† i, Tim. iii., v. 15
§ Acts ii., v. 47.

dissenters in the same manner, that is, they have always excluded them from it, by the same general rule. Of this, innumerable instances might be produced, but a few will serve; especially if it be remembered, that Christendom was as much divided into different sects in the first ages of the Church as it is at present. For if we have now Catholics, Photianists, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Protestants of different kinds: there were then Catholics, Simonians, Menadrians, Gnostics, Nicolaites, Cerinthians, Nazaræans, Ebionites; the followers of Elxai, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentin, Marcion, Tatian, and Montanus; Cainists, Ophites, Adamites, Antitacts, Archontics, Theodotians, Tertullianists, so called from Tertullian, who till the year of Christ 206, had been a vigorous defender of the Catholic faith, Novatians, Sabellians, Manichæans Hieracites, Donatists, Arians, Macedonians, Audians, Apolinarists, Priscillianists, Messalians, Quarto Decimans, Pelagians, Nestorians, and Eutychians,: not to mention sects of less note, which were equally excluded from salvation.

1st. In the middle of the third century, St. Cyprian gives this reason, why the proud and stubborn are spiritually killed, when cast out of the Church: Because out of it, says * he, they cannot live, since the house of God is one, and no one can be saved, but only in the Church.

Again. He cannot have God for his father, says † he, who has not the Church for his mother. If any one

* Ep. lxii quæ est ivta. in Ed. Oxon. p. 175.
† St. Cypr. L. de Unit. Eccles. Edit. Oxon pag. 109 &c.

could escape the deluge out of the ark of Noah, he who is out of the Church may also escape. Do you think, that he stands, that he can live who departs from the Church? It is a fault which cannot be washed off even by a man's blood. Such a person may die for his religion, but he cannot be crowned.

2d. In the fourth century, Lactantius says * it is therefore the Catholic Church only, which retains the true worship. This Church is the foundation of truth, it is the house of faith, it is the temple of God, If any one either comes not into this Church, or departs from it, his eternal salvation is desperate. No one must here flatter himself obstinately; for his soul and salvation are at stake.

In the same century St. Chrysostom: † "we know that salvation belongs to the Church alone; and that no one can partake of Christ, nor be saved out of the Catholic Church, and the Catholic faith."

3d. In the fifth century St. Augustine told the Donatists (who were the greatest part of the inhabitants of Africa, according ‡ to Possidius, and had above four hundred bishops in their communion) that § "in the Catholic Church there are both good and bad, but there amongst the Donatists all are bad."

Again ‖ "we say you are all highly guilty, not of other men's crimes, but of that of Schism, from which detestable sacrilege no one of you can say he is inno-

* Lib. iv. divinarum Instit. Cap. xxx. † Hom. 1. in Pasch.
‡ In vita St. Augustin, Cap. vii. § Tr. vi. in Joan.
‖ L. ii. con. lit. Petil. C. xcvi. § 221.

cent, as long as he does not communicate with the unity of all nations."

The Catholic council of Zerta, an. 412, in a Synodical letter, written by St. Augustine, tells the Donatists: * "therefore whoever is separated from this Catholic Church, how innocently and well soever he thinks he lives, yet for this crime only, that he is separated from the unity of Christ, he will not have life, but the anger of God remains upon him."

So writing to a † convert, St. Augustine says: "in the Catholic Church there are both good and bad. But those who are separated from it, as long as they remain in their opinion against it, cannot be good. For though the conversation of some of them appears commmendable; yet their separation from the Church makes them bad, according to that of our Saviour: He who is not with me is against me, and he who gathers not with me scatters. ‡

And speaking of Catholic bishops, whom the Donatists accused, as did the Pope Marcellinus, Marcellus, Silvester, and Melchiades; § it is a great and glorious comfort, says he, for any one of us to be falsely accused, as the Church itself is, by the enemies of the Church. But the defence of the Church does not consist in the defence of those men whom they unjustly accuse. For let Marcellinus, Marcellus, Silvester, Melchiades, &c., be what you please, it does not in the least prejudice the Catholic Church, which is spread over the world.

* St. Aug. 141. olim 152. † Ep. ccviii. olim ccix. § 6 ad Feliciam Virginem. ‡ St. Luke xi., v. 23.
§ L. de unico Bapt. Con. Petil. C. xvi. § 30.

We are neither to be crowned for their innocence, nor condemned for their sins. If they were good, they were cleansed on the Catholic floor like corn: if they were bad, they were crushed like straw, on the Catholic floor. Within that floor there may be good and bad: out of it none can be good.

From hence St. Augustine concludes, that * "a Christian ought to fear nothing so much as to be separated from the body of Christ, that is from the Church of Christ. For if he be separated from the body of Christ, he is not a member of Christ."

4. In the sixth century, St. Fulgentius says, † "Within the Church is both the righteous man and the sinner; out of the Church no one is righteous."

"Whoever," says ‡ he, "is out of the Catholic Church, which has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, he goes not to heaven but to hell."

§ "As in Jericho, no one who was not in the house of Rahab could save his life; so out of the Catholic Church no one shall obtain pardon of his sins. Out of this Church neither does the name of a Christian avail any one, nor does baptism save one, nor is a clean sacrifice offered to God, nor is there forgiveness of sins, nor is the happiness of eternal life to be found."

Again, "Hold most firmly," says ‖ he, "and without any doubt, that no one, who is baptized out of the Catholic Church can partake of eternal life, if before

* Tr. xxvii. in Jo. § 6. † L. i. de remiss. pecc. C xviii.
‡ C. xix. § C. xxii.
‖ L. de Fide ad Petrum. C. xxxvii.

the end of this life he be not restored to the Catholic Church, and incorporated in it."

So that his conclusion is, * "Let them run therefore, whilst they have time, to their lawful mother, who as she carefully keeps and feeds those children, which were born of her own womb; so she is so far from rejecting those who were born of the hand-maid, that with bowels of mercy she seeks and invites them continually."

In the same age St. Gregory, † "The Holy Universal Church preaches, that out of her none are truly saved."

He applies to the Catholic Church these words of Job, ‡ "Silver hath beginnings of its veins, and gold hath a place wherein it is refined." "For as it was also said formerly," says St. § Gregory, "whoever is persecuted, if he be not in the unity of the Church, may be a sufferer, but he cannot be a martyr. There is one Church, in which he who is willing to be refined may be cleansed from all dross of sin. Out of this Church if you suffer any troubles, any bitterness for the honor of God, you may be burned, but you cannot be purified."

VI. This doctrine of the Catholic Church in all ages is so unquestionable, that some of our adversaries, who saw themselves visibly separated from all the ancient Churches in the world, chose rather the danger of being self-condemned, than to contradict, in this, the universal tradition of all ages.

Calvin says of the visible Church, ‖ "Out of its bosom no remission of sins, no salvation is to be hoped for,"

* L 1. de remiss. pecc. C. xxiii. Vide Lib. de Fide ad Pe. C. xxxiii., xxxix. † L. xiv. Moral. C. ii. ‡ Job xxviii., v. 1.
§ L. xviii. Moral. C. xiv. ‖ L. iv. Inst. C. i. §4.

according to Isaiah, Joel, and Ezekiel. So that it is always highly pernicious to depart from the Church.

His great disciple and successor * Beza, says, "There is only one true Church; and † there always was and always will be a Church, out of which there is no salvation."

Bucanus says, ‡ "Out of it there is no salvation." But this is to be understood of the Catholic Church.

Trelcatius says, § "It is a thing of absolute necessity, if we will be saved, to embrace the communion of the Catholic Church, out of which there is no salvation.

And Bishop ‖ Pearson, "the necessity," says he, "of believing the Holy Catholic Church, appears first in this, that Christ has appointed it as the only way unto eternal life." We read at the first, ¶ that the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved; and what was then daily done, has been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation. There is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus; ** and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah; as none of the first born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or

* In confess, fidei. C. v. § 2. † Ib. § 1. ‡ Loco xli. § 23.
§ L. ii. Instit. de Ecclesia. Par. ii. § 10. ‖ Exposit. of the Creed, p. 349. ¶ Acts ii, 47. ** Acts iv, 12.

sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the Church of God.

So King James * the I. or Casaubon in his name, in his letter to Cardinal Perron, "The king plainly believes, without fallacy or deceit, that there is only one Church of God, called, as it truly is, Catholic or Universal, spread over all the world; out of which Church he holds, that no salvation ought to be expected."

The Protestants of Switzerland say in their † profession of faith, anno 1566, "We have so great a value for being in communion with the true Church of Christ, that we say, those cannot have life in the sight of God, who are not in communion with the true Church of God, but separate themselves from it.

The Protestants of Scotland in their profession of faith, anno 1561, say, ‡ "As we believe in one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so we firmly believe, that there was from the beginning, that there now is, and that to the end of the world there will always be one Church, which is the Catholic, that is, the Universal Church, out of which Church there is neither life nor everlasting happiness."

The Netherland Protestants in their profession of faith, anno 1561, approved by the Dutch synod of Dort, anno 1619, say in the twenty-seventh article, § "We believe and confess one only Catholic or Universal

* In Resp. ad Perr. † Confessio Helvetica, Cap. 17, in Syntag. Confess. Fidei. Genevæ, an. 1654, pag. 34.

‡ Conf. Scot. Cap. 16, Ib. pag. 118.

§ Conf. Belg., Art. 27, ibid. pag. 140, 141.

Church. This Church was from the beginning of the world, and will continue to the end of it." And in the 28th, * "Since this holy society and congregation is the society of those who are to be saved, and that there is no salvation out of it, we believe, that no one of what place or dignity soever he be, ought to separate himself from it, that he may live apart by himself; but that all are equally bound to join themselves to it, and to be united with it, to preserve the Church's unity, to submit to its doctrine and discipline, and to subject their necks to the yoke of Christ." The profession of the Protestants of † Saxony, ‡ is of the same nature.

The French Huguenots, in their Catechism, on the tenth article of the creed, say, "Why is this article, of forgiveness of sins, put after that of the Church?" Answer. "Because no one obtains pardon of his sins, unless he be first incorporated with the people of God, and continue in unity and communion with the body of Christ, and so be a member of the Church." M. "So that out of the Church there is nothing but death and damnation." Answer. "It is certain; for none of those who withdraw themselves from the communion of the faithful, to make a sect apart, ought to hope for salvation, as long as they continue separated from them."

* Art. 28, ib. pag. 141. † In Syntag. Par. 2, pag. 68.
‡ Art. xi., anno 1551.

QUESTION IV.

Is not this general Rule, that none are saved out of the Catholic Communion, very uncharitable, if it be understood of a Church in one Communion only?

Answer. No. It is not.

First, BECAUSE true faith and charity cannot be inconsistent. But whatever follows by a plain and necessary consequence from the scripture and from the creed, as the rule here mentioned does, is part of the Christian faith. Therefore it is consistent with charity. See the answer to the second question, and corollary.

Secondly, The Catholic Church, in this, holds nothing at present, but what she has proposed in all ages, and received by universal tradition. And if this tradition be ever uncertain, what may become of the Bible, and of Christianity itself? See the answer to the third question, number iii., iv.

Thirdly, The chief plea of our adversaries is, that they agree with us in all our fundamentals. But this is either nothing at all to the purpose, or is more than will be granted them; whether by fundamentals they mean, 1st, the chief mysteries of Christianity, as the blessed Trinity and the Incarnation; or, 2dly, by such points of Christian faith, as it is necessary even for the most ignorant to know in the Catholic communion; or, 3dly, so many revealed truths as are duly proposed to each Christian in particular; or, 4thly, the whole Christian revelation when duly proposed.

In the first sense they agree with us in fundamentals, and if you please in all fundamentals. But thus all

schismatics, and many heretics, agree with the Church; as the Montanists did in the second century; the Novatians in the third; the Donatists, the Apolinarists, and the Quartodecimans in the fourth; and the Pelagians in the fifth. And the Catholic Church, in all ages, has, by the same general rule, excluded all dissenters from salvation, whether heretics or schismatics.

The second sense will not be granted. For even the most ignorant in the Catholic communion know, which is the one, holy, Catholic Church. They know which is the one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church. And they are obliged, as Christians, to know this meaning of the Christian creed.

In the third sense, neither heretics nor schismatics can agreee with the one, holy, Catholic and apostolic Church in fundamentals. For if she has these properties, the word and will of God is duly proposed by her decrees.

The same may be said of fundamentals, taken in the fourth and last sense. For if the voice of the holy Catholic Church be a due proposer of the whole Christian revelation, how can those who dissent from her, agree with her in all fundamentals, understood in this sense?

Fourthly, As charity cannot feign those duties to be necessary to salvation, which are indeed unnecessary; so, when the necessity is real it cannot conceal it. It is therefore charity to publish what the creed, the scripture, the tradition of all ages obliges us to think concerning salvation out of the Catholic and undivided communion.

Fifthly, The holy scripture gives men no assurance of salvation but on two conditions. The first is, that they believe in Jesus Christ, and that they firmly assent to all parts of the Christian revelation, when duly proposed to them. The second is, that setting aside an absolute impossibility, which in some cases may happen, they comply with all the duties necessary to salvation, of which duties they are not invincibly ignorant; as 1st, to restore ill-gotten goods, and the good name of those whom they have slandered. *

2dly, To avoid heresy, and all other manifest works of the flesh.†

3dly, To be baptized.‡

4thly, To be members of the holy Catholic Church.§

Sixthly, It was both true and charitable in St. Luke to tell us, "that the Lord added daily to the Church, in one undivided communion, such as should be saved." And if the Church be always orthodox, and always one in faith and communion, that is, if the scripture and the creed be true, what was then done daily, has been done since continually. So that this very charge of uncharitableness against us, is not only groundless and weak, but is itself uncharitable in a high degree.

Lastly, It is not the design of charity to please men,‖ but to endeavor to procure their salvation. And it is the greatest charity to help those who think they do not want it. Is it not charity to let them see what sins are great and damnable according to the gospel? Is it

* St Matt. vii., 12. † Gal. v., 19, 20, 21. 1 Cor. vi., 9, 10.
‡ St. Matt. xxviii., 19. St. Jo. iii. 5. § Acts ii., 47.
‖ Gal. i., 10.

not charity to put them in mind, that no religion is safe to any one, because he and his friends were bred up in it, because it suits best with his interest, and is the prevailing religion of the place? But true charity always was, and always will be unknown to those who want it. Wicked men think it highly uncharitable to have their pleasures and dreams disturbed, by the unwelcome news of death and hell. Can anything appear more uncharitable to infidels, than these words of charity itself, * "he, who believes not, shall be damned?" And will not schismatics always think it uncharitable, to be informed of the real and infinite dangers to which they are exposed?

But must not saving truth be told, because we are pretty sure before hand, that it will not be believed? Prejudice is a distemper almost incurable. But must the watchman cease to cry out because the people are obstinate, and cannot or will not see the sword † which is over their heads? Must charity neglect its duty because heresy is deaf? Or must danger be dissembled, because it is infinite? It is charity to give advice to a friend in the concerns of a short life. And is a monitor only uncharitable, when eternity is risked?

They must then have labored under a great scarcity of arguments, who first told the people, that Catholics, in these latter ages, had degenerated from the piety and charity of their predecessors, by restraining salvation to their own communion. As if the Catholic Church had ever granted herself to be in more communions than one; or as if believing what the Catholic Church has

* St. Mar. xvi., 16. † Ezek. xxxiii., 2., &c.

always professed, were departing from "the faith once delivered to the saints."* But an ill cause cannot be supported by truth.

QUESTION V.

Is it not uncharitable and barbarous to suppose that all men are obliged to think as we do?

Answer. In matters clearly revealed it is not. We firmly believe there is a God. But is it either barbarous or uncharitable to suppose, that all men are obliged in this, to think as we do? We believe the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Old and New Testament, that Christianity is the only true religion. But if Christendom be only the sixth part of the world, as Dr. † Heylin says it is, is it either barbarous or uncharitable to suppose, that the rest of mankind, setting aside invincible ignorance, is obliged to be Christians, and in this respect to think as we do? No. For all mankind is bound to believe whatever God has published to the world. It is rashness indeed to suppose things evidently revealed, which are not really so. But when this point is duly cleared, it would not be piety, but infidelity, to imagine that all men are not bound to think as I do.

II. Now, whether it be clearly revealed or not, that setting aside invincible necessity and invincible ignorance, none are saved out of the Catholic Communion,

*St. Jude v. 8. † Cosmogr. page 27: anno 1699.

is a point, in which I must refer the reader to what has been said already.

For first, if it can be clearly proved from the Scripture and from the Creed, that it is the common duty of all men to be in the Catholic Communion, and that setting aside the two cases now mentioned, it is a great and grievous sin, for any one to live and die out of it; the point in question is clearly revealed. Since whatever evidently follows from any part of the Christian revelation, is evidently and undoubtedly revealed. And it is plain to common sense, that none are saved, who live and die in a state of damnation, or under the guilt of a great and grievous sin.

Secondly, whatever clearly follows from the universal tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages, is clearly revealed.

But it is the universal tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages, that as all men ought to be Christians, so they ought to be members of the Church of Christ, and to be in the Catholic Communion, of which we have seen many instances in the answer to the third question.

Hence it clearly follows, and is therefore clearly revealed, that none are saved out of the Catholic communion, unless they be out of it by invincible necessity, or by invincible ignorance.

Thirdly, Whatever those which we call the Apostolical and Nicene creeds say of the Church is so agreeable to Christian antiquity, that it is an universal tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages.

But if the Apostolical Creed be always true, Christ

has always upon earth the holy Catholic Church, that is the holy, orthodox, and universal Church, from which a man can have no just reason to be separated.

And if this Creed be true, this Church is also the Communion of Saints, so that all who are justified upon earth, are in it, either actually, or in desire.

Again, if the Nicene creed be always true, Christ has always upon earth one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, or one Holy, Orthodox, Universal, and Apostolical Church. So those who are separated from it, are neither in the Church of Christ, nor in Communion with the Apostles. They are not in the Church of Christ, because they are not in the Universal Church; nor are they in Communion with the Apostles, because they are not in their Church, in the Church which they built, or in the Apostolic Church.

Their case therefore is desperate, unless they can plead either invincible necessity, or invincible ignorance. And as this clearly follows from the two creeds, that is, from the universal tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages, it is clearly revealed.

They are not justified in the sight of God, if by their own fault they are out of that Church, which alone is the Communion of Saints. Not that all are saints in it, but that, setting aside invincible necessity and invincible ignorance, there are no saints out of it.

They are condemned by their creeds, and in them by the universal tradition of all ages, if they are not in that Church, which alone is One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical, that is, if they are not in the Catholic Communion.

QUESTION VI.

Are not all Religions indifferent.

Answer. It is certain they are not. For if all religions are indifferent, it is indifferent whether you be a Christian, a Turk, a Jew, or a Pagan. It is indifferent whether you prefer the Bible to the Alcoran, or the Alcoran to the Bible; whether you praise or blaspheme Jesus Christ; whether you believe him to be the Son of God, or to have been the worst of men; whether Mahomet ought be esteemed a great prophet or a great impostor; whether you adore the Supreme God or devils, and the heathen deities, Mars, Juno, Venus, &c.

Secondly, If all religions are indifferent, it is indifferent whether you believe the Holy Scripture or not; whether you be a Catholic, an Arian, a Socinian, a Protestant, or a Manichæan; it is indifferent whether you give divine worship to the Blessed Trinity or not; whether you say, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one and the same God; or that the Son and the Holy Spirit are creatures only, that the Father made the Son, and that the Father and the Son made the Holy Spirit; it is indifferent to believe it piety, or blasphemy and idolatry, to adore Jesus Christ; it is indifferent whether you adore him in the sacrament or say that it is impiety to do it; it is indifferent whether baptism be a necessary sacrament, or an unnecessary ceremony; whether in Christ there be one person or two, two natures or one; whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, or the creeds ought to be reformed in which this is affirmed; it

is indifferent to hold that men in this life have free will, or that they have it not; that God is, or is not the author of sin; that he foresees things to come, or does not foresee them; that it is necessary, or impossible to keep his commandments; it is indifferent whether you be a Catholic at Rome, or a Calvinist at Geneva, a Lutheran in Germany, an Anabaptist in Holland, a Turk in England, and a Quaker in Pennsylvania

Thirdly, If all religions are indifferent, is it because they are all true, or because a man may be saved as well if he does not worship God in spirit and truth, as if he did? The first is against common sense, which tells us, that contradictories cannot be true, or that it is impossible to be and not to be at the same time. The second is against the gospel.*

Fourthly, "Without faith it is impossible to please God." † "He who believes not in Jesus Christ is condemned already." ‡ "He who believes not shall be damned." § It is also impossible for a heretic, remaining such, to please God. For heresy is a manifest work of the flesh, excluding men from the kingdom of God. ‖ But there are some religions of infidels, and of heretics. Therefore all religions are not indifferent.

Lastly, Whoever thinks all religions indifferent, must either think them all in the right, or all in the wrong; or some of them in the right, some in the wrong. If he thinks them all in the right, he must teach us the art of reconciling contradictions. If he thinks them all in

* St. John iv., 23, 24. † Heb. xi., 6.
‡ St. John iii., 18. § St. Mark xvi., 16.
‖ Gal. v., 19, 20, 21.

the wrong, he cannot embrace any of them without hypocrisy. If he thinks some of them right, others wrong, how can he think them all indifferent?

QUESTION VII.

Is not every one saved who lives according to his Conscience?

Answer. It is certain he is not. For a man's conscience itself is often a damnable and damning sin; as appears both by scripture and by common sense.

First, the scripture tells us,* "There is a way which seems right to a man, but the end of it are the ways of death."

Secondly, we cannot doubt but those wicked men who sought the blood of Christ, and of his apostles, though they had sealed their doctrine and innocence with uncontested miracles, sinned grievously by it. But these wretches acted according to their conscience. "For† the time comes, that whoever kills you will think that he does God service." Therefore a man's conscience itself may be, and is oft, a damnable and damning sin. The same may be said of those who put the Martyrs to death, either in the primitive or in the latter ages.

And from hence it is also plain that ignorance is oft a damnable and damning sin. As it was both‡ in the people and their rulers who put Christ to death· as

* Prov. xvi., 25. † St. John xvi., 2.
‡ Acts iii., 14, 15, 17.

well as in those who imbrued their hands in the innocent blood of the apostles, and of the martyrs.

Thirdly, a man's conscience is nothing else but the judgment, or opinion, which he has concerning his duty. And how often is this judgment, this opinion, both rash and criminal?

Fourthly, it is manifest to common sense, that a person's ignorance, and his conscience, is a grievous sin in all these cases:

1st, If it proceed from unreasonable and unjust prejudices.

2dly, If it be joined either with obstinacy or with a great neglect in matters of religion.

3dly, If it proceed from any wicked passion, as from malice, hatred, envy, rashness, pride, or a perverse will.

And because wicked men, who have not a due regard to God, as pagans, Jews, Turks, and heretics, fall under one or other of these cases; hence their conscience is generally their greatest crime.

A wicked pagan thinks it is a sin not to worship the gods of his country. Will he then be saved by idolatry? or rather is not his conscience a wicked and damnable sin?

A wicked Jew thinks it is a sin not to blaspheme Jesus. Will blasphemy then save him? or is not his conscience erroneous, obstinate, perverse and wicked?

A wicked Turk thinks it is a sin to believe the Bible, and not believe the Koran: to believe in Jesus Christ and not to believe Mahomet. Will impiety then save him? or is not his conscience corrupted and diabolical?

A wicked heretic thinks it is a sin to believe as the

Catholic Church does. Will he then be saved by being obstinate and malicious? or rather is not his conscience a crime?

No rule therefore can be more deceitful and false, than that every one is saved, who lives according to his conscience.

QUESTION VIII.

Is not every one saved who lives well?

Answer. LIVING well may be understood two different ways. 1st, in regard only to moral honesty, and to all other Christian duties necessary to salvation, of what kind soever they be, whether they have an immediate relation to God, to our neighbor, or to ourselves.

In this latter sense of the word, whoever lives well is saved. Nay, though a person has lived ill, if he repents as he ought, and afterwards observes, till his death, all duties necessary to salvation, he is undoubtedly saved. For one of these duties is to love God above all things. And how can this love and damnation be consistent?

II. But moral honesty, although it be necessary, is not sufficient to salvation. It is a necessary duty; but not the only duty which is necessary. For he is morally honest who wishes the temporal good of his neighbor: who neither injures him in fact nor in desire: who pays his debts: who restores ill-gotten goods and injured fame: who is careful in the observance of all duties betwixt man and man. But more than this is necessary to salvation.

For * without faith it is impossible to please God. But moral honesty may be without faith. It may be in any communion of Jews, of Turks, of infidels, and of atheists. For he who does not believe a God may, by a principle of natural honesty, be so modest, kind, and reasonable in his behavior, as neither to injure any one, nor to desire to do it. It is not therefore plainer, that two and two make four, than it is that, supposing the truth of the holy scripture, moral honesty is not sufficient to salvation.

III. But, if joined with a belief in Christ, is it not sufficient? 'tis certain, it is not.

First, because many other duties are necessary to salvation:

As first repentance, after the committing of any great sin.†

2dly, The avoiding of heresy and schism. ‡

3dly, The receiving of baptism. §

4th, The being a member of that Church, which is ‖ the pillar and the support of truth, and to which ¶ the Lord added daily such as should be saved.

Secondly, because it is impossible for men to please God without these conditions:

The first, and fountain of all the rest, is, that they love God ** above all things; more than †† father or mother, or wife, or children, brothers, or sisters, or even their own lives.

* Heb. xi., 6.
† St. Luke xiii., 3, 5.
‡ Gal. v., 20.
§ St. Mat. xxviii., 19. St. John iii., 5.
‖ 1 Tim. iii., 15.
¶ Acts ii., 47.
** St. Mat. xxii., 37, 38.
†† St. Luke xiv., 26.

The second is, that they seek in the * first place the salvation of their souls, and give it the preference before all other concerns; though they should disoblige their nearest and best friends by it, and should forfeit whatever is dear to them in the world.

The third is, that they use their best endeavors to know all necessary duties towards God, towards their neighbor, and towards themselves, and that they faithfully comply with these duties when known.†

The fourth is, that they desire, and in effect procure, as far as their circumstances permit, the spiritual good of their neighbor; and that they promote his salvation, as they ought to do their own. ‡

Has he not then a large share of stupidity, who can persuade himself that every one is saved, who in general believes in Christ, and is morally honest?

IV. But is not every one saved who believes in Christ, is morally honest and lives according to his conscience? It is certain again, that he is not. Because his conscience, in regard to many other duties necessary to salvation, may be in itself a grievous sin, as was fully proved in the answer to the seventh question.

And if his ignorance be criminal, in relation to any one duty necessary to salvation, it is not plainer to a Christian that two and two make four, than it is that he is not in a state of salvation. For is it not plain to common sense, that criminal ignorance is a crime, and that all crimes are inconsistent with salvation? or, which is the same thing, that every crime is a deadly and damnable sin, which (without repentance and

* St. Mat. vi., 33. † St. Mat. vii., 27. ‡ St. Mat. xxii., 39.

amendment of life) is a damning sin, and attended with damnation?

QUESTION IX.

Cannot a man have a saving faith in any communion of Christians?

Answer. BEFORE I give a direct answer, I must beg leave to ask a few questions of the same kind.

The first is: Could not a man, in the time of the apostles, have a saving faith, without being in communion with them as the first Christians were; of whom it is said, * that they continued steadfast in the doctrine of the apostles, and in communion with them, and without being in the Church, to which the Lord added daily such as should be saved?

The second is: Cannot a man have a saving faith without baptism? †

The third is: Cannot a man have a saving faith in a schismatical communion? ‡

The fourth is: Cannot a man have a saving faith without paying his debts, without restoring ill-begotten goods, and the fame of those whom he has slandered? §

II. My answer then is, that a man may probably have a saving faith in any communion of Christians, who believe the Trinity and the Incarnation; if nothing hinders him from being in the Catholic communion but invincible necessity, or invincible ignorance.

* Acts ii., 42.
† St. Mat. xxviii., 19. St. John iii., 5.
‡ Gal. v., 20.
§ St. Mat. vii., 12.

The reason of the first limitation, is because some learned divines are of opinion, that since the gospel was fully published, God does not give a saving faith, but only to those who believe the two great mysteries of Christianity, I mean the Trinity and the Incarnation.

The second limitation follows from what was said in answer to the second and fifth question of this Chapter.

III. This answer may or might be given to the four queries, number I.

To the first I answer, that he could not, unless invincible necessity, or invincible ignorance of his duty hindered him from being in that Church, and in that Communion. The same exception may be applied to the other three queries. For a man may have a saving faith without paying his debts, if it be impossible for him to pay them, or if he has an invincible ignorance of his being in debt. Either of which also excuse him from restoring ill-gotten goods, and the reputation of his injured neighbor.

A saving faith implies two things. The first of these is a knowledge, by faith, of the chief mysteries of Christianity. Especially, it is a knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ: "knowing that a man is not justified, but by the faith of Jesus Christ."* Hence St. † Augustine, "No one," says he, "has a true and sure hope of living always, but he who acknowledges the life, which is Christ, and who by the door enters into the fold."

* Gal. ii., 16. See Acts iv., 12. Rom. iii., 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30. St. John iii., 18, 36. † Tract. xlv. in Joan.

It is also * probable that none of riper years have a saving faith without a knowledge of the Trinity and the Incarnation, in which sense schoolmen say, that this knowledge is necessary to salvation.

The second thing required to a saving faith, is that you comply effectually with all duties necessary to salvation, of which you are not invincibly ignorant, and which it is not impossible for you to observe in your present circumstances; as to pay your debts; to restore ill-gotten goods, and injured fame: to avoid every schismatical communion; to be joined in communion with the Catholic Church. For to say that a man has a saving faith, who neglects any one duty necessary to salvation, is as manifest a contradiction, as it would be to say, that two and two make seven.

QUESTION X.

Is not this the word of Faith, "that if you shall confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and shall believe in your heart, that God has raised him from the dead, you shall be saved?"†

Answer. THESE words are very true as St. Paul understood them; that is, if you omit no other Christian duty necessary to salvation. But it would be extremely silly to conclude from this text, that there are no duties necessary to salvation, but only two: 1st, to confess Jesus Christ, in time of persecution, before a

* Sylvius 2da, 2dæ Q. ii. Art. viii., Concl. 6, 7. †Rom. x., 9.

magistrate. 2dly, To believe Christ's resurrection, and ours, and that he has a real body.

For was not in St. Paul's time a necessary duty,

1st, To be joined in faith and communion with the Apostles,* and to be in that Church, "to which the Lord added daily such as should be saved?"†

2dly, To be baptized? ‡

3dly, To avoid heresy and schism, and all other manifest works of the flesh, which exclude men from the kingdom of heaven? §

4thly, To be morally honest, and to injure no one in his life, in his goods, or in his reputation? ‖

5thly, To keep the ten commandments, as far as they are precepts of the law of nature? ¶

6thly, To love God above all things, and our neighbor as ourselves? **

7thly, To believe the books of the Old Testament, and those of the New which were then published: to pardon injuries;†† to believe the whole Christian revelation?

II. But if there be so many Christian duties necessary to salvation, why did St. Paul mention only two? ‡‡ The reason of this might be, because they were then most remarkably in danger of not being observed.

To confess Jesus Christ and his doctrine in a persecuting age, is the most difficult act of religion. And the resurrection was the first and most known part of

* Acts ii., 42.
‡ St. Mat. xxviii., 19. St. John iii., 5.
‖ St. Mat. vii., 12.
** St. Mat. xxii., 37, 38, 39.
‡‡ Rom. x., 9.
† Acts ii., 47.
§ Gal. v., 19, 20, 21.
¶ St. Mat. xix., 17.
†† St. Mat. vi., 15.

Christianity which startled the philosophers, and the wise men of the world; of which we have a manifest instance in St. Paul's preaching before the Athenian judges in the Areopagus.* And all, or most of the heretics in St. Paul's time, denied both the resurrection, as † Hymenæus and Philetus also did, and the necessity of confessing Christ before a persecuting magistrate. Of both which we have several instances in Monsieur ‡ Tillemont's account of them. So that supposing a compliance with these two duties, St. Paul did not fear but the rest would be observed.

QUESTION XI.

Do we not read, whoever believes, that Jesus is Christ, is born of God, § and that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he who fears God and works righteousness, is acceptable to him? ‖ *And lastly, that whoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved?* ¶

Answer. This question is so like the last, and has so little difficulty in it, that it may be dispatched in a few words.

Cerinthus made ** Jesus and Christ two different persons. Against him St. John says, "whoever believes that Jesus is Christ, is born of God," if he lives according to Christian faith, that is, if he observes all

* Acts xvii., 32, 33. † 2 Tim. ii., 17, 18.
‡ Tom. 2, Mem. Eccl. Edit. 1. p. 40, 41, 43, 48, 51, 54, 55, 58, 63.
§ 1 St. John, v., 1. ‖ Acts x., 34, 35.
¶ Rom. x., 13 ** Tillem. Mem. Eccles. Tom. 2 page 62.

duties necessary to salvation. For faith, without works necessary to salvation, is dead. *

Again, "whoever is born of God, is in a present state of salvation." To suppose, therefore, that he is deficient in any duty necessary to salvation, is as plain a contradiction, as a rational brute, or a square circle.

II. In every nation, he who fears God, and works righteousness, is acceptable to Him. But did he fear God, and work righteousness in St. Peter's time, who did not observe all duties necessary to salvation? who did not love God above all things? who did not keep the commandments? who was not in communion with the Apostles? who was not in the Catholic Church?

III. There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek. † "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved," if he omit no other duty necessary to salvation. One of these duties is prayer. But was prayer, in St. Paul's time, the only necessary duty? Was it not then necessary to confess with the mouth of the Lord Jesus, and to believe with the heart, that God had raised him from the dead? ‡ Was not charity necessary? § Was it not necessary to avoid heresy and all other crimes? ‖ Was it not necessary to be baptized? ¶ and to be a member of that Church, "to which the Lord added daily such as should be saved," as St. Paul's disciple tells us? **

Prayer is a Christian duty. But in a †† schismatical congregation it is not praying, but howling.

* St. James ii., 17, 20, 26. † Rom. x., 12. ‡ Rom. x., 9.
§ 1 Cor. xiii., 1, 2, 3. ‖ Gal. v., 19, 20, 21,. 1 Cor. vi.,9, 10.
¶ Rom. vi., 3, 4, 5. ** Acts ii., 47.
†† St. Aug. in Psal. lxv., 1. Hebr. lxvi.

QUESTION XII.

Does not the Scripture say, or suppose, that of all Religions a Remnant shall be saved?

Answer. THE scripture supposes no such thing. But men who are resolved to live and die in error will never want a text for it; as the prince of darkness did not want one against Christ himself.*

II. A remnant only of the Jews was to return from Babylon.†

This, according to St. Paul, ‡ was a figure, that the Synagogue would remain in the slavery of sin, and that only a small remnant of it, to wit, the apostles, and a few Christians of the Jewish nation, should be saved. But what relation has this to the saving of a remnant of all religions; of Christians, Jews, Turks, and Pagans, or of any religion out of the Catholic Church, which we profess in the creed? that is, out of the orthodox and universal Church, to which the Lord adds daily such as shall be saved?

III. In some Christians, who are members of the Catholic Church by desire, invincible ignorance and invincible necessity may be excepted, with reason, from the known principles of Christianity. But of these two exceptions we have no express mention in the scripture.

QUESTION XIII.

Is not Reformation, in wicked times, a real and great blessing?

Answer. REFORMATION of manners is so great a bless-

* St. Mat. iv., 6. † Isa. x., 20, 21, 22. ‡ Rom. ix., 27.

ing, that it ought to be, and is, the endeavor of all good pastors, and the prayer of all good Christians. But to leave the communion of the Catholic Church, and to reform her faith, is no blessing at all.

II. I have already * mentioned the chief reformations of Catholic faith which began in the first century, but did not end with it. For the † Simonians continued till after the middle of the third century, and the ‡ Gnostics till the end of the fourth.

III. The chief reformers of Catholic faith in the second century were Elxai, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Marcion, Tatian, and Montanus.

1. Elxai, and his followers the Elcesaites, § held it lawful to renounce the Christian faith in words, provided you kept it in your heart. In all the books of the Old and New Testament they received some sentences, except the Epistles of St. Paul, which they wholly rejected.

2. Satornilus, or Saturninus, and his disciples, ‖ denied the resurrection. They said, that the God of the Jews was not God the Father, who made the angels, but only one of the seven rebel angels, which, without his knowledge, made the world. That part of the old prophecies came from these angels, and the other part from Satan, their enemy. That some men are good, some bad, by nature. That Christ had not a real body, but came to destroy the God of the Jews.

3. Basilides, and his sect, increased the fable.¶ They

* Quest. I., Num. iv.
† Tillem. tom. 2, page 42.
‡ Ibid., page 57.
§ Ibid., page 234, 235.
‖ Ibid., page 237, 238.
¶ Ibid., 240, 241.

said there were several generations in God, and that the last of them produced the angels who made the first heaven; that these angels produced others who made the second heaven, and so forward, till there came to be an infinite number of angels and 365 heavens. Hence Abraxas, or Abrasax, was to his sect a sacred name, because the numeral letters of it in the Greek are 365. They said that the God of the Jews is one of the angels of the last heaven, under which we live; that these made our world and divided it amongst themselves, but that they all opposed the God of the Jews, because he would subject all nations to his. They denied the resurrection. They held that Christ was only a man in appearance; that Simon of Cyrene was crucified instead of him; that it is lawful to deny Christ in time of persecution; that the only punishment of sin, after this life, is that the soul passes from one body to another. They reformed both the Old and New Testament.

4. Carpocrates, and his followers, excelled the rest in impudence and infamy.* They had wives in common: they held, that no action is of itself a sin, and that it is every one's duty to pass through all degrees of immodesty. They received the gospel of St. Matthew, but denied the resurrection.

5. Valentinus, and his sect, divided the Godhead into thirty ages, or affections; fifteen of which were males, and fifteen females; and adorned them with many other fictions.† They held, that Christ had a mortal body only in appearance: that his true body was immaterial, invisible, and impassable, which passed through the vir-

* Tillem. tom 2, p. 277, 278, 284. † Ibid., p. 285, 286.

gin mother, without taking anything from her. They said, there are three sorts of men, earthly, animal, and spiritual; that earthly men cannot be saved, whatever they do; that animal men, or Catholics, may be saved by faith and good works; but that they themselves, who were spiritual men, could not miss being saved, what sins soever they committed. They said, that martyrdom was a folly; that Catholics had corrupted the scriptures; and they denied the resurrection.

6. Marcion, and his sect,* held, that there is a good and bad God; that the Creator, and God of the Jews, is a bad God, cruel and inconstant; and that Jesus Christ is the Son of the good God, who came to ruin the Creator, his law, his prophets, and all his works. They denied the resurrection, and that Christ had a real body. They rejected the Old Testament and a great part of the New. They said, that when Christ descended into hell, he saved the souls of Cain, of the Sodomites, and of all other sinners; but left Abel, Noah, Abraham, and the others, who were just, in hell, because they did not come to meet him.

7. Tatian, and his followers the Encratites,† held two Gods; and that the Creator, who was the God of the Jews, was the second. They said, that Christ had not a real body, and wholly condemned the use of marriage. In consecrating the chalice they made use of water only. And a considerable branch of them, called Severians (from Severus, a follower of Tatian), abhorred St. Paul and his Epistles, and rejected the Acts.

8. Montanus, a demoniac, pretended, that it was re-

* Tillem. tom. 2, p. 291, &c. † Ibid., 450, 451, 452.

vealed to him, that * Christians ought to fast more severely than they did: that great sinners ought not to be admitted to pardon: that it is unlawful to fly in time of persecution: and that no one ought to marry twice, though St. Paul had permitted it.† And in these points he was followed by the Montanists.

But these sects did not end with the second century. Marcion had so many followers in ‡ Italy, in Egypt, in Palestine, in Arabia, in Syria, in Cyprus, in Thebais, and in Persia, that St. Justin said of him, that § he had taught many all over the world to blaspheme the Creator. And his sect continued to the middle of the fifth century; at which time Theodoret converted ‖ above a thousand Marcionites in his own diocess. The Montanists also continued till ¶ after the middle of the same century.

IV. The chief reformers of Catholic faith, in the third century, were the Novatians, the Sabellians, the Manichæans, and the Hieracites.

1. The Novatians held, ** that those who denied their faith in time of persecution ought not to be admitted to pardon: and that second marriages are unlawful.

2. The Sabellians held, that the Father is both the Son and the Holy Spirit. But Sabellius, was not the first author of this sect. Praxeas, †† in the beginning of the third century, preached this error in the west, and Noetus, ‡‡ about the same time propagated it in

* Till. t. 2, p. 472, 473. † 1 Cor. vii., 8, 9, 39.
‡ Ibid., p. 307. § St. Just., p. 70, A. Edit. Paris, an. 1636.
‖ Tillem. T. 2., p. 307. ¶ Ibid., p. 485.
** Tillem. tom. 3, p. 472, 474. †† Tillem. t. 4, p. 237.
‡‡ Ibid., p. 238.

Asia. Hence the followers of it are by the Latins* called Patropassians or Patripassians, because they believed that the Father was crucified; and by the Greeks Noetians and Sabellians.

3. The Manichæans held, that† there are two sovereign, eternal, immortal, and opposite natures, (one the author of good, the other of evil,) both vastly extended, but independent of each other, and confined to their proper places. These they often called two gods; though commonly they reserved that title to the author of good, and named the other Satan, matter, darkness, and the nation of darkness. They said, that before the world was made, there was a fight betwixt these two natures, in which God was forced to abandon a piece of himself to matter. And that, to recover by degrees part of his imprisoned and defiled substance (for the whole, they say, will never be restored to him) he made the world. That parts of this imprisoned substance are in all bodies, both in heaven and earth. That some pieces of it are commonly released by what the Manichæans eat, but that they are more tied to matter by generation. Whence they concluded it to be utterly unlawful for married persons to beget children. They also believed, that the light which we see is a part of God's substance; that an infinite multitude of gods and angels came from the substance of god by generation; and that Moses did ill to forbid the worshiping of strange gods. Matter had also its princes of darkness: and one of these they said, gave the law to Moses, and spoke by the prophets. They believed, that every man

* Tillem. t. 3, p. 75. t. 4, p. 240. † T. 4, p. 368, &c.

has two souls; one essentially good, from God; the other necessarily wicked, from matter: that there is no resurrection: no free will: that Christ had not a real body: that all trees, plants, and grass have a sensitive soul, and that it is murder to kill them: that the serpent, which spoke to Eve, is Jesus Christ. They rejected the Old Testament. They said, that Catholics had forged part of the New, and had corrupted the rest. They blamed the honor which the Church gave to martyrs.

This sect had two parts, to wit, the perfect and the imperfect Manichæans. The first by them were called the Elect; the latter, Hearers. These were permitted to marry, provided they did not beget children; to eat fish and flesh, provided they did not kill it; to drink wine, and to cultivate the earth: all which were unlawful for the elect. Their fasting days were chiefly Sunday and Monday, in honor of the sun and moon. Sunday was also kept as a fast (even by the hearers) in contempt of Christ's resurrection. Twelve of the elect were called masters, and the thirteenth was the head of the sect. It belonged to these masters to ordain 72 bishops; as it did to the bishops to ordain priests and deacons. They held it unlawful for any one to give meat or drink to any poor people, but only to the hearers or to the elect. From condemning marriage, from renouncing pleasure, from drinking water, and from wearing sackcloth; they assumed, from former heretics, the titles of Encratitæ, Apotactitæ, Hydroparastatæ and Saccophori.

4. The Hieracites, so * called from Hierax, a learned but heretical writer of the third century, held, that marriage is contrary to the Gospel. So that they received none into their communion but virgins, monks, bachelors, widowers, and widows. They denied the resurrection, and believed that children could not go to heaven if they died before they came to the use of reason.

But these heresies did not end with the third century. The Novatians continued to † the end of the sixth. The Manichæans began in Persia, and ‡ from that extremity of the east were spread through all countries to the farthest parts of the west. And although the laws of Christian emperors were very severe against them, and the great Theodosius ‡ had condemned their elect to death, yet they § continued to the end of the sixth century, and farther. St. Augustine, before his conversion to the Catholic faith, was ‖ nine years a hearer in this sect.

V. The chief reformers of the Catholic faith, in the fourth century, were the Donatists, the Arians, the Semiarians, the Apolinarists, the Messalians, and Priscillianists.

1. The Donatists held, that ¶ the Church of all nations had perished by communicating with those, whom they falsely accused of delivering the holy scripture to heathen magistrates, in the persecution of Dioclesian, and so was reduced to their communion only.

* Tille. tome 4, p. 412.
† Ibid. tome 3., p. 493.
‡ Ibid. t. 4., p. 367.
§ Ibid. page 410.
‖ Ibid. p. 407.
¶ Ibid, page 374, 377.

They also * rebaptized Catholics, whom they drew over to their schism.

2. The Arians † believed the Son of God to be a creature, and that Christ, as man, had not a human soul distinct from the Word; which was indirectly to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, whom no one ever supposed to be greater than the Son.

3. The Semiarians or Macedonians, ‡ whatever they thought of the Son, in which respect some of them were orthodox, believed the Holy Spirit to be a creature.

4. The Apolinarians § held, that Christ, as man, had not a sensitive soul, or at least that he had not a rational soul, distinct from the Word; so that the Word did not assume our whole nature. Besides, Apolinarius, either by writing obscurely, or by contradicting himself, and changing his opinions, was also accused of ‖ several other errors; as that Christ's body was consubstantial to the Divinity; that it was not taken from the Blessed Virgin, but eternal and uncreated; that the Divinity of the Word was passable and mortal, &c.

5. The Messalians, whom the Council of ¶ Ephesus calls Enthusiasts, and who were condemned ** both by that, and other Councils, held, †† that every one had from his ancestors a devil, by whom his soul was possessed, and who always tempted him to evil; that

* Tille. tome 6., p. 78.
† Ibid. p. 242, 543.
‡ Ibid. p. 412, 413, 527.
§ Ibid. tome 7, p. 602.
‖ Ibid. p. 604., &c.,
¶ Act. 7. tom. 3. Conc. Labb. p. 809. A. C.
** Tille. tom. 14., p. 449, 450.
†† Ibid. tome 8, p. 529, &c.

baptism could not remove this devil, but that prayer can; that spiritual men have no need to fast; that the blessed Sacrament neither does good nor harm, and that baptism is of no use; that a man who is perfect, may be equal to God in virtue and knowledge, and that perjury cannot hurt him; that the Messalians see the Blessed Trinity with their corporal eyes.

6. The Priscillianists * held, that there is only one divine person; that Jesus Christ had no being before he received it of the Blessed Virgin, and that he only appeared to be man; that Satan was always what he is, and that he made the world: that the bodies of children in the womb are formed by him. They denied the resurrection. They condemned the use of marriage, and the eating of flesh meat as impure. They admired judicial astrology, and subjected both the souls and bodies of men to the stars. They held it lawful to deny their opinions with perjury, it being a rule with them, "Swear and forswear, but keep the secret." They fasted on Sundays, and on Christmas day.

But these heresies did not end with the fourth age. The † Donatists continued to the end of the sixth century. The ‡ Apolinarists subsisted in the fifth; the Arians and the § Priscillianists in the sixth; and the ¶ Messalians in the seventh.

VI. The reformers of Catholic faith in the fifth century, were chiefly the Pelagians, the Nestorians, and Eutychians.

1. The Pelagians denied original sin, and that grace

* Tille. tome 8, p. 492, &c. † Ibid. tom. 6, p. 192, 193
‡ Ibid. tom. 7, page 630. § Ibid. tom. 8, 527 ¶ Ibid. p. 536.

is necessary for the doing of good works. They were condemned by the * Council of Ephesus, anno 431.

2. The Nestorians held, that † Jesus Christ is a mere man, and consequently that the Blessed Virgin Mary was only the mother of a man, not the mother of God made man, or, which is the same thing, not the mother of the Word become man. And were also condemned by the Council of Ephesus.

3. The Eutychians held, that the Godhead and humanity in Christ are only one Nature; so that he has not, in their opinion, all the ‡ natural properties of each of them. The Eutychians were condemned by the § Council of Chalcedon, anno 451.

But these reformations did not end with the fifth century. For the Nestorian or Eutychian heresies are not yet extinct.

VII. It appears by these instances, that a reformation of the Catholic faith is no blessing at all. Besides, they give us a just and true idea both of heresy and of schism. Of schism, because we see such a multitude of sects cut off from the Catholic Communion. Of heresy, because if the Catholic Church may be judge in her own case, or rather if she may judge in the concerns of religion, with which Christ has intrusted her, as she always has been in seventeen centuries, and always will be to the end of the world, I say, if we can stand to the judgment of the Catholic Church in all ages; heresy

* Acts 5., tom. 3., Conc. Lab., p. 665. E. & Act. 7. Can. 1 and 4, p. 803, 806. † Tille. tome 14, page 308.

‡ See the Church of Christ against Mr. Lesly. Tom. 2, page 207.

§ In Definit. Fidei. Tom. 4. Conc. Lab., page 567.

and a reformation of Catholic faith, is the very same thing. And if she be always that which the creed professes her to be, universal and orthodox, that is, if the scripture and the creed be always true, how can it be otherwise? For heresy is an error against faith. And how can the faith of an orthodox Church be reformed without error? I might add, that reformations, have in former ages, done more harm to the Church of Christ, and ruined more souls, than the sword of heathen Rome ever did in the hands of Nero, of Domitian, of Decius, and of Dioclesian, when the cruelty of the greatest princes upon earth, the fury of the people, and the force of the whole Roman empire conspired to destroy Christianity. For though many weak and worldly Christians had not courage to resist such a torrent of violence and blood; yet this torrent never carried whole nations before it, as the reformations of Arius, of Nestorius, of Eutyches, of Photius, and of others, have done.

VIII. It appears also by the instances from the five first centuries, that dissenting sects are not less dissenters with regard to each other, than in regard to the Catholic Church. But there are some things in which they all agree.

First, All dissenters lay claim to the faith once delivered to the Saints, * and would be thought to contend for it. For without this, they can have no pretence to Christianity. And as all dissenting sects lay claim to the faith first delivered to the Saints, so they all accuse their Catholic mother of causal schism, by requiring unjust terms of communion. For without

* St. Jude, v. 3.

this, they must necessarily grant themselves to be schismatics.

Secondly, All dissenters either leave the Catholic communion by their own free choice, or are by the censures of the Catholic Church excluded from it.

Thirdly, All dissenters whatsoever, have always had a true and irreconcilable hatred towards their Catholic mother. Because they had never patience enough to bear either her advice, her reproofs, or her censures.

Fourthly, No dissenters have ever failed to treat their Catholic mother with injustice, misrepresentation, and calumny, which are the natural effects of hatred.

Fifthly, Whenever the Catholic Church has branded any sects with the mark of heresy, they have always taken care to represent their innocent and injured mother as the worst part of Christendom; to accuse her of debauched principles, of manifest corruptions, of great and gross errors, of adulterating the original faith, of scandal, impiety, and apostasy. She has condemned all heresies and sects with which she has co-existed in seventeen centuries. And all heresies and sects, which ever were in seventeen centuries, have condemned her, but with this remarkable difference, that her power is from heaven, and theirs from an inferior place.

QUESTION XIV.

Cannot a Man be saved at present if he be in Communion with the Apostles, and with the Catholic Church of the three first Ages?

Answer. He may. But if the Catholic Church be,

as it certainly is, the Church of all ages, and the Church to which the Lord adds daily such as shall be saved. He must be very fond of perdition who can persuade himself that he has in the eighteenth century, any other way of being in communion with the apostles, and with the Catholic Church of the three first ages, than by being a member of that Church, which began from the apostles, and which has in her communion a continued succession of pastors and doctrine from the apostles to the present time, that is, by being a member of the Catholic Church of the eighteenth century.

Secondly, It is plain to common sense, that no one can be in communion with the lasting and perpetual society, at a time in which he was not, but only by being a member of it at the time in which he is. To be therefore in communion with the Catholic Church of the eighteenth century, is at present the only way possible of being in communion with the Catholic Church of the three first ages.

Thirdly, Schism is nothing else but a wilful separation from the present communion of the Catholic Church. And can either heresy or schism, which, if we believe St. * Paul, are manifest works of the flesh, excluding men from the kingdom of God, recommend them to the apostles, or cause them to be members of the Catholic Church in any past century?

Fourthly, The Catholic Church, as I observed already, is the Church of all ages, from our Saviour's time to the end of the world. It is the Church, as the word itself notes, which is both universal and orthodox, as well in

* Gal. v., 19, 20, 21.

declaring what is revealed as in stating the terms of communion; in a word, it is the Communion of Saints. How then can you, in any age, either reform its faith without heresy, or forsake its communion without schism? "So long as Christianity continues," * says a divine of the Church of England, "those that separate themselves from the Church upon pretences concerning the substance of faith, shall be properly counted heretics. But if the cause concern not the substance of Christianity, schismatics."

* Letters at the end of Just Weights and Measures, p. 229.
THORNDYKE.

CHARITY AND TRUTH,

ETC., ETC., ETC.

CHAPTER II.

Invincible necessity and invincible ignorance are the only exceptions from the general rule above mentioned.

For if it be true, as it was * proved already, that setting aside invincible necessity and invincible ignorance, it is a great and grievous sin for any one to live and die out of the Catholic communion; it is plain that those two now mentioned are the only exceptions from this general rule, viz., "that none are saved out of the Catholic communion." Why so? Because it is plain to common sense that none are saved who live and die in a state of damnation.

And, not to mention inferences, the very title of this chapter has been sufficiently proved in the answer to the fifth question of the last chapter. Yet the following queries have too near a relation to this subject to be thought unnecessary.

QUESTION I.

What is meant by invincible Necessity and invincible Ignorance?

Answer. Invincible necessity is that which it is not

* Ch. ii., Quest. ii.

in a man's power to hinder, though he desire it ever so much. Or it is a real impossibility, under the present circumstances, of obtaining something which we desire. For though God does not command impossibilities, yet the exterior acts of our duty may, under some accidents of life, with regard to time and place, become impossible; so that the non-observation, whilst those circumstances continue, is not sinful.

And if we attentively consider the nature of Catholic communion, we shall easily see that this impossibility may have a place with regard to it. Suppose a person who has not a priest aboard with him, is converted at sea, either by his own thoughts, or by hearing or reading controversies of religion, but dies before he comes to the end of his voyage, it is not impossible for him to be saved, but it is impossible for him to be received into the Catholic communion, how much soever he desire it. For as baptism is the door by which Pagans, Turks and Jews enter into the Catholic Church; so converts from heresy are not received into the Catholic Church, and made actually members of it, till they be reconciled to it by her pastors. A conversion indeed of the heart ought to precede in both cases; but this conversion is neither baptism nor reconciliation. It is a necessary disposition of the mind, but it does not outwardly and actually make a man a member of the Catholic Church, or to be in the Catholic communion.

This furnishes us with a double instance of invincible necessity. For a convert to Christianity, if he earnestly desires to be baptized, but is disappointed either because water or a minister is wanting, and so dies with-

out baptism, dies out of the Catholic Church, and out of the Catholic communion, by an invincible necessity. So does a convert from heresy, if he desires to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, but dies before a priest can come to him.

II. Invincible ignorance is that which is not voluntary. Now it is plain that ignorance may be voluntary, and even criminal, two different ways. First, by a positive desire of not knowing our duty; secondly, by not using all due endeavors for the knowledge of it. Ignorance, in the first case, is more diabolical, because more directly voluntary. But in both cases, it is so great and grievous a sin, that it puts a man into a state of damnation if it be joined with a considerable neglect in matters of religion, or with an obstinate temper; if it proceed either from unjust prejudices, or from rashness, human motives, temporal interest, pride, passion, or a consideration of friends. For in these and all other cases of the like nature, that ignorance is highly criminal, is the judgment of all mankind, excepting only those, who by the just sentence of God, are given over to an abandoned and reprobate state, to perverse and wicked blindness, to a hellish presumption and enthusiasm.

III. What then must we conclude of those who have the misfortune to be bred up in heresy or schism without knowing it?

Their ignorance is invincible, if they sincerely use their best endeavors to know the whole compass of their duty, and would both faithfully and immediately comply with the most difficult parts of it, when known, how

contrary soever they may be to their passions, to their prejudices, to the conveniences of life, to their interest in this world, and to the expectation of their friends.

But if they are not fully resolved to do the will of God in all things necessary to salvation, whatsoever it may cost them; and would rather hazard their duty than correct an ill custom, disoblige their friends, or contradict their passions; they have not the fear of God, whom they have not courage to serve.

And if they are deficient in using all necessary endeavors to know their duty, if by their own fault they want light to see it, if inapplication, indifferency, unconcernedness, worldly motives, or unjust prejudices influence their judgment, and suffer it to yield to the basis of a perverse education, they have neither invincible ignorance nor the fear of God. For criminal ignorance cannot be invincible. And it is a crime not only to shut our eyes against the light of divine revelation, but also not to open them when we ought to see it.

QUESTION II.

Can a person be saved who dies in invincible necessity out of the Catholic Church?

Answer. He may, if he knows the Catholic Church, and desires to be actually a member of it, but is hindered from it by an invincible necessity. As it happens to those, in whom martyrdom supplies the want of baptism.

For, that these are in a happy state after death, is a

point in which all Catholics agree. And, that they are not actually and outwardly members of the Catholic Church in this life, appears by this that they were not christened.

That their state after death is happy, is owned by the Catholic Church in her martyrology, as well as by * Tertullian, by St. † Cyprian, by St. ‡ Cyril of Jerusalem, by St. § Basil, by St. ‖ Augustine, by St. ¶ Prosper, St. ** Fulgentius, St. †† Bernard, St. ‡‡ Thomas of Aquin, and other Catholic divines. The Council of Trent says, that, §§ since the gospel was published, no one can be justified without the washing of baptism, or its desire according to that, ‖‖ unless one be born again of water and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Which words of the Council indirectly imply, that at least martyrs (when they want time and opportunity to be christened) may be saved without the sacrament of baptism.

II. Besides, Catholic divines agree, that as God will not refuse a contrite and humble heart; a Catechumen may be saved by this holy disposition, though he dies suddenly, without either baptism or martyrdom. As the young Emperor Valentinian II. did, who, having desired to receive baptism from the hands of St. Ambrose, was murdered before he came to the font, by the treachery

* L. de Bapt.. C. xvi.
† Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubai.
‡ Catech. iii.
§ L. de Spir. S., Cap. xv.
‖ L. xiii. de Civ. Dei., C. vii.
¶ Epigram. lxxxvii.
** L. de Fide ad Petrum., Cap. iii. and xxx.
†† Tract. ad Hugonem de S. Victore., C. ii.
‡‡ 3 Par. Q. lxvi., Art. xi.
§§ Sess. vi., Cap. iv.
‖‖ St. John iii., 5.

of Arbogastus, an. 392. And that such Catechumens may be happy after death, is not only affirmed by St. Ambrose, in his funeral sermon on the prince now mentioned, but also by St. * Augustine, by St. † Bernard, by Pope ‡ Innocent III., and by St. § Thomas of Aquin.

III. In order to salvation, therefore, those are not out of the Catholic Church, whom nothing but an absolute and unavoidable necessity separates from it against their will. Because they are not obstinately and wilfully (that is criminally) out of it, and are members of it in an unfeigned desire.

QUESTION III.

Does invincible ignorance excuse men from the guilt of heresy and schism?

Answer. It does, if it be really invincible.

For, first, as nothing but guilt can exclude a man from heaven, so nothing but a wilful violation of his duty can make him guilty. And, if his separation from the Catholic Church, by heresy or schism, proceed only from an invincible mistake, or from invincible ignorance, how is it wilful?

Secondly, heresy is a wilful error against faith. Schism is a wilful separation from the Catholic communion. And if this separation, this error, be involuntary, how can it be wilful, how can it be criminal?

* L. iv. de Bapt., C. xxii., xxiii. † Loco citato.

‡ Cap. Debitum (de Judæo a se baptizato) de Baptismo. Et. cap. Apostolicam, de Presbytero non baptizato.

§ 3 Par. Q. lxviii., Art. ii.

Thirdly, according to St. Paul, * haireseis, which the Latin interpreter calls sects, heresy and schism are manifest works of the flesh, excluding men from the kingdom of God. But is not adultery and fornication so too? is not murder and drunkenness so too? and common sense tells us, that these are not sins, unless they be voluntary. For if a man commits an excess in drink, which he neither desired nor foresaw, (as it happened to Noah † and to Lot, ‡) he has only the misfortune, not the sin of drunkenness. If, aiming at a bird, he shoots his friend, he has the misfortune not the guilt of murder. If a single or a married woman is oppressed against her will her soul is free from the guilt, though her body is not free from the misfortune of adultery or fornication. For nothing is criminal but what is voluntary. And is not this as true with regard to heresy, and schism, as with regard to drunkenness, murder, fornication and adultery?

Fourthly, as every sin, whether original or personal, is an effect of his free will, by whom it was committed, so it is a rule, beyond contradiction, that § no one sins, in what he cannot avoid; and that ‖ sin is an evil so voluntary, that if it be not voluntary, it is not sin. And what is more involuntary, more unavoidable, than involuntary ignorance?

Again, no one sins, ¶ by not doing that which is not in his power. Do not shepherds publish this on the hills, poets on the stage, the unlearned in the ring,

* Gal. v., 20, 19, 21. † Gen. ix., 20, 21.
‡ Gen. xix. § St. Aug. L. iii. de lib. arb. C. xviii.
‖ Idem. L. devera Relig. C. xiv. ¶ Idem. L. de duab. animab. C. xi.

scholars in libraries, masters in the schools, bishops in the sanctuary, and mankind over the whole world? How then can a man sin, by not knowing that which it is not in his power to know, or of which he has invincible ignorance? For though voluntary ignorance may be justly blamed, yet an involuntary mistake cannot. Hence St. Augustine,* it is not imputed to you as a fault that you are ignorant against your will, but that you neglect to seek that of which you are ignorant.

Lastly, St. † Augustine himself observes, that invincible ignorance may excuse a man from heresy.

II. An Arian, therefore, or a Socinian, if he be invincibly ignorant of the heresy and schism in which he is engaged, is neither guilty of heresy nor schism. But we are not sure that if his ignorance be invincible he may be saved. Because there are many deadly and damning sins, besides heresy and schism. And it is not improbable that since the gospel was published a saving faith is only given to those who ‡ believe the Trinity and the Incarnation.

III. Hence, though heresy, if joined with invincible ignorance of the true religion, and of the true Church, is not a sin: yet it is a real and great misfortune, and may occasion the ruin of many souls: either by rendering them incapable of a saving faith, (which may possibly be the cause of Arianism and Socinianism, if not of other heresies,) or by depriving them of those instructions and helps which are only found in the Catholic Church, and by suffering them to want the advantages

* L, iii. de lib. Arb. C. xix. † St. Aug. Epist. xliii. in Edit. Lov. clxii. ‡ See Chap. i. Quest. ix, num. iii.

which all good Catholics receive from the sacrament of penance; or by instilling such principles into their minds as naturally tend to sin and corruption. It was the current doctrine of the first reformers, that by the fall of Adam man lost his free will to avoid sin; and that it is impossible to keep the commandments of God. This could not but be most agreeable news (the commandments of the Catholic Church being also ridiculed) to the wicked, that is, to the greatest part of mankind: and was sure to advance the reformation hugely. For, as an ingenious writer says, a down-hill reformation runs apace. Calvinists tell us, and published it to the world in their general assembly at Dort, in the years 1618, 1619, (in which assembly the Bishop of Landaff, and three doctors of divinity of the Church of England were present, with other foreign divines from the Palatinate, from Hessen, Switzerland, Weteraw, Geneva, Bremen, and Embden) that justifying grace is not lost by the greatest crimes,* enormibus peccatis, as † by adultery, by murder, and by denying Christ. This is the principle: and what glorious consequences it may have in the lives of many, every one sees. Our adversaries tell us, that all sins are mortal. And who cannot but apprehend that this opinion, in which they glory, may more than pave the way to the worst of excesses? For, since the best servants of God in this life, are not without sin, if all sins are mortal, will not every man think those will be most easily pardoned to which he is most inclined? And if his inclinations lead him to ad-

* Syntagma Confession, Fidei. Par 3, Art. 5, page 42.
† Ibid., Art. 4, p. 41.

mire the fair sex, or to love the bottle, into what extravagances may he not run? And perhaps he may find a text for it too. For who is there almost who will not tell a lie to save his life? Yet the scripture * may seem to condemn all liars to the lake which burns with fire and brimstone, no less than it excludes † idolaters, drunkards, fornicators, adulterers, and murderers, from Heaven. Why, then, says the honest rake, since all sins are damnable, may not I as well be saved, though I live and die in the arms of a mistress, as if I died in this disposition of mind, that I would tell a lie, at any time, to save my life?

QUESTION IV.

Is any one saved by invincible ignorance?

Answer. SETTING aside infants, who are saved by baptism, or by martyrdom; no one is saved, but by a saving faith, or by a faith working by charity, as ‡ Paul expresses it, that is, by faith joined with the fear and love of God above all things. But invincible is not a saving faith; therefore no one is saved by invincible ignorance.

The conclusion will be the same, although you suppose that some who were baptized in their infancy, may, when they come to the use of reason, be invincibly ignorant of the whole Christian revelation, and yet die before they commit a mortal sin. For even these, if the case ever happen, which is not likely, are not

* Apoc. xxi., 8. † Gal. v., 19, 20, 21. 1 Cor. vi., 9, 10.
‡ Gal. v., 6.

saved by invincible ignorance, but by the justifying grace which they received in their baptism.

QUESTION V.

Cannot a person who is out of the Catholic Church, have a saving faith in any Communion of Christians who believe the Trinity and the Incarnation, if he be invincibly ignorant of the heresy and schism in which he is engaged?

Answer. It is probable he may; because the knowledge, by faith of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation, is perhaps more necessary to salvation, than the knowledge of any other part of the Christian revelation.

But generally speaking, we are not certain that he can have a saving faith. For I cannot see any grounds of absolute or real certainty in the case: whether we regard the Scripture, the tradition of all ages, or the principles of reason and common sense. In the Apostolical and Nicene creed, the next article after the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation is, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, and I believe one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church." How then can we be sure, that the knowledge of this Church is not as requisite to a saving faith, as the belief of the Trinity and the Incarnation?

And what sure arguments can we have, either from experience or from the nature of the thing, which will not conclude as well in favor of the ancient or modern Arians?

It is not therefore certain, though I hope it is true, that those who are invincibly ignorant of the heresy and schism in which they are engaged, are not incapable of a saving faith in any communion of Christians, who believe the Trinity and the Incarnation. And under this rule, even Quakers are included, provided they believe the two mysteries now mentioned.

II. But here the reader is desired to observe,

First, That every one who was truly baptized in his infancy, by what minister or in what congregation soever, was once a member of the Catholic Church.

Secondly, That justifying grace which was given in baptism, cannot be lost, but only by the guilt of mortal sin. Hence it is not lost by invincible ignorance of the Blessed Trinity and of the Incarnation. Justification therefore may perhaps be continued, though probably it is never first given to such as are invincibly ignorant of those two mysteries.

Thirdly, That whoever was baptized in his infancy, though perhaps he may have lost justifying grace by other sins, yet is still a member of the Catholic Church in the sight of God, if he was never guilty of a mortal sin against faith. But if the knowledge of the Catholic Church be as necessary to salvation, as the belief of the Blessed Trinity and of the Incarnation is supposed to be by some divines of note; he cannot recover justifying grace, however it was lost, as long as he remains invincibly ignorant of the true Church, and of the true religion. For if the opinion of those divines be true, no one can recover justifying grace, as long as he re-

mains invincibly ignorant either of the Blessed Trinity, or of the Incarnation.

III. This I say, not as an argument, that none are saved out of the Catholic Church who are invincibly ignorant of it, but that, generally speaking, we cannot be sure of their salvation.

If this be thought uncharitable, I shall only answer,

First, That it has been the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church in all ages.

Secondly, That this truth always has been, and always will be thought uncharitable by its adveraries.

QUESTION VI.

Can a person be in a state of salvation who is out of the Catholic Church, and, by invincible ignorance of his duty, positively refuses to be a Catholic?

Answer. WHAT was said to the last question must be applied to this. I hope then, that such a person may be in a state of salvation. But generally speaking, we are not sure that he can. Because that we are not sure but the knowledge of the true Church may be as necessary to salvation, generally speaking, as the belief of the Blessed Trinity and of the Incarnation is supposed to be by some eminent divines.

I said, generally speaking, we are not sure that he can. For if God should by miracles attest the innocence of any, whom invincible ignorance alone hindered from being members of the Catholic Church, or if the Catholic Church herself bears witness of their sanctity,

we have a sufficient assurance of it. Which might be the case of St. Macedonius, who was created bishop of Constantinople, anno 496, of St. Flavian, bishop of Antioch, anno 498 or 499, of St. Elias, bishop of Jerusalem, anno 493, who all died in the time of * Acacius's schism, and of some few others. And those divines who hold the belief of the Trinity and of the Incarnation necessary, might say in the same manner, if the sanctity of any one should be thus attested, who was invincibly ignorant of those two mysteries, and was by invincible mistake separated from the Catholic Communion, that the rule established by an opinion, is not universal but only general.

II. But are we not certain, that all persons are saved who were baptized in their infancy, and who retain to their death, at what age soever it happens, the justifying grace which they received in their baptism, though by invincible ignorance they positively refuse to be Catholics?

We are. But the sixth question has no regard to these. For these were always living members of the Catholic Church, and were always, in the sight of God, though they did not know it, part of the Catholic Communion. Nay, though they had lost by other sins, their baptismal grace, yet as long as they are not guilty of any mortal sin against faith, they are actually a part of the Catholic Church, and, in the sight of God, are actually, though neither they nor we know it in particular, in the Catholic Communion.

III. Are not all persons then in the Catholic Com-

* See Mons. Tillemont. Tom. 16, p. 661, 662.

munion, who were baptized in their infancy, and who were always invincibly ignorant of the Catholic Church?

No. They are not. For though they were always invincibly ignorant of the Catholic Church, they may yet have committed many great sins against faith; as 1st, by doubting of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Resurrection, of the books of the Old and New Testament, or of any article of faith which they held in common with the Catholic Church. 2dly, By denying the truth of any of these articles. 3dly, By doubting, without sufficient reason, of those very points which by an invincible error they had supposed to be revealed. For rashness is always a sin.

IV. But is not the Catholic Church an invisible society, if it has any members which are unknown?

No. It is not. The Catholic Church is always a visible and a numerous body, and was always known in the Christian world. Yet it may have some unknown members. As a man's body is visible, though it has some, and even many invisible and unknown parts, which neither nature nor art will ever be able to discover.

QUESTION VII.

What think you of those who hold, that a person may be saved in any Communion of Christians, without invincible ignorance?

Answer. I think they want either religion or common sense, or both the one and the other. For on the

one hand common sense tells us, that every error concerning clear revelation, or the plain word of God is, if it be not involuntary, a great and grievous sin. And on the other hand, it is manifest, that clear revelation or the plain word of God, is the very thing about which all Christian sects differ from one another, and from the Catholic Church. How then can men be saved in all Christian Communions without invincible ignorance? Can sects contradict one another in matters of religion and the plain word of God, without being mistaken on one side or other? And can such a mistake as this be blameless unless it be involuntary?

II. Quakers think it clearly revealed, that baptism and the Blessed Sacrament ought to be laid aside; that the ministers of the Gospel are not a peculiar set of men, and that women ought to preach in the church, though St. Paul would not allow it.* The Catholic Church, and all other Christian sects believe the contrary to be the plain word of God. Now if Quakerism be a plain error against the word of God, how can Quakers be saved without invincible ignorance? If it be not, how can their adversaries be saved without it?

III. Arians think it clearly revealed, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are creatures. The Catholic Church and almost all other sects, think it clearly revealed, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are divine and uncreated Persons, and adore them as such. If Arianism then be an error against the plain word of God, how can Arians be saved without invincible igno-

* 1 Cor. xiv., 34, 35.

rance? If it be not, how can other Christians be saved without it.?

QUESTION VIII.

Is ignorance always invincible when a man follows his conscience, and acts without remorse?

Answer. It is certain it is not. For first, a man's conscience itself may be wicked; it may be a crime, and the greatest of all crimes, as has been proved * already. It may therefore be, and is, too often, grounded on voluntary and wilful ignorance.

Secondly, A man's conscience being nothing else but the judgment or opinion which he has of his duty, his conscience may proceed from unreasonable and unjust prejudices, from folly, precipitation, and rashness; from obstinacy and pride; from hatred, envy, malice, or from a criminal neglect in matters of religion. And in all these cases it is joined with a voluntary and criminal ignorance.

Thirdly, The most obstinate and perverse schismatics, heretics, Jews, Turks, and pagans, follow their consciences without remorse. But whither do they follow them? Doubtless to hell. For if a man's conscience be itself a crime, to what other place can it lead him?

By such a discreet and tender conscience as this, Pharaoh was or might be directed, when he resisted the commands of God under the greatest evidence of

* Chap. i. Quest. vii.

an omnipotent hand. The enemies of Christ and of his Apostles were directed by it, when they persuaded themselves * that they did God service by thirsting for their blood.

For when a man's conscience is a crime, of what excessses is he not capable? Though he was trained up in the light of Christian and Catholic principles, he can apostatize from both without scruple. He can baffle the strongest evidence, and can even attribute the works of God to Satan. Hence he is wicked by principle, he is doubly damned, and sins against the Holy Spirit, as the † Scribes and Pharisees did. A crime, which being committed against the clearest evidence, is the most provoking, as well as the most fatal and the most unpardonable. For without an unusual and miraculous sort of grace, it leaves no room for mercy or repentance. His case is so desperate, that according to Dr. Hammond, St. Paul says of him, ‡ "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the Heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and have fallen, to be renewed again to repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and make a jest of him. For the soil which drinks up the rain that comes oft upon it, and brings forth herbs for their use by whom it is cultivated, receives a blessing from God; but that which bears thorns and briars is rejected, and is near to a curse, whose end is to be burned.

* St. Jo. xvi., 2. † St. Mat. xii., 31, 32. St. Mar. iii., 28, 29.
‡ Heb. vi., 4.

They have * trod under foot the Son of God, they have profaned the blood of the Testament by which they were sanctified, and have affronted the Spirit of Grace. What then remains, † but a dreadful expectation of judgment, and a fiery indignation which will devour the adversaries of truth?"

This gives us the true reason why so few countries, after they have once apostatized from the Christian or Catholic faith, are ever blessed with such a powerful grace as to return to their duty. In how many parts of the world, and through how many ages, have the long schisms which were begun by Nestorius, Eutyches, and Photius maintained their ground? And are they not still as perverse and incorrigible as ever? All the Turkish dominions in a manner, in Asia, Africa, and Europe, were once a part of the Catholic Church. But which of them has ever returned to Christ since their ancestors preferred Mahomet before him? No, they are apostates by descent. They inherit a national sin against the Holy Spirit, and therefore have little more than a weak possibility of repentance left, with a moral impossibility that it will ever happen. For a national faith is too great a blessing to be given twice. And national prejudices against truth once abandoned, are never to be obliterated. Thus blindness, which was the forefather's choice, becomes the son's inheritance, and drags him to perdition, without scruple or remorse.

It is rather stupidity therefore than a mistake, to suppose that ignorance is invincible, if a man follows his conscience, and sins without remorse.

* Heb. x., 29. ‡ Ibid. x. 27.

QUESTION IX.

If the Catholic Church did not think all persons damned, who refuse to die in her Faith and Communion, why does not she give them Christian burial? Why does not she pray for them as she does for public sinners who die in her Communion?

Answer. THE Catholic Church prays every day for the souls of all the faithful departed; that is, of all who are capable of being helped by her prayers. And if she does not pray in particular for any who refuse to die in her faith and communion, nor give them Christian burial, the reason of this is her charity to the living, and that she may deter them by this means from heresy and schism. Nor would she pray for any, whether public or private sinners, who die in her Communion, if she were sure that they die ill.

She has therefore so much charity as to pray in particular for all her known children, after their death, even for public sinners, when she is not sure that they died as they lived. But her charity and compassion to the living, has always hindered her from praying in the same manner for those who refuse to die in her faith and communion, lest her children should think that heresy and schism are small offences, and that they are not as much obliged both to live and to die in her faith and communion, as they are obliged to be baptized, and to keep the commandments of God.

QUESTION X.

Can scholars who make religion their study, have invincible ignorance of the true Church?

Answer. THOUGH scholars have not the fairest claim to invincible ignorance of things clearly revealed, for the true Church is of the number, whether we consider the scripture, the creed, or the tradition and succession of all ages, yet I am not unwilling to suppose, that some may have it. My reason is, because scholars have been once children as well as others; and if their friends and parents were engaged in schism, have run through the whole course of popular objections and vulgar errors. They have had early and repeated instructions of the horrid cruelties, irreligion, follies and fopperies of popery, from the warm endeavors and zeal of the parent, the nurse, the tutor, the pulpit, and the press. To these you may add the more judicious and lasting prejudices of their own studies, in a rich and learned university, and in the eyes of the world, not without hopes of profitable and advantageous places in Church or State, if they will but rail loud against popery, as everybody does. And cannot objections be started against the most undoubted parts of religion, which every scholar perhaps knows not how to answer? How then can I be sure, that no one of them can possibly have invincible ignorance of the true Church?

II. But as scholars have the greatest helps against vulgar errors and popular mistakes, it is so much harder for them than it is for others to be invincibly ignorant of the Catholic Church.

They know, or may know, that none have ever reformed the faith of the Catholic Church in seventeen centuries, but they have always been censured and condemned by her, as heretics and apostates.

They know, or may know, that in the time of the apostles, and in every age since, there has been several reformations of the Catholic faith, and that all reformers of it have constantly accused the Catholic Church of their own crimes, that is, of detestable errors, of impiety, of apostasy, and of casual schism.

They know, or may know, that all communions, which began by schism, continue so still: that no schism is less, because it is national: that the faith of an orthodox Church cannot be reformed: and that schism cannot be justified.

They know, or may know, that in the third century, before the Roman emperors were Christians, Rome was * the principal see, from which the unity of priesthood is risen.

They know, or may know, that praying for the relief of the faithful departed is a custom as ancient as † Christianity. And that, by purgatory, Catholic faith means only this, that some souls after death are in a state of suffering, in which they may be relieved, by the prayers and charities of the faithful.

They know, or may know, that the words of conse-

* S. Cyprianus Epist. lv.

† The practice of the Church in interceding for the dead, at the celebration of the Eucharist, is so general, and so ancient, that it cannot be thought to have come in upon imposture, but that the same aspersion will seem to take hold of common Christianity, says Mr. Thorndike, a learned divine of the Church of England, in his Just Weights and Measures. Chap. xvi., p. 106.

cration, "this is my body, this is my blood," if they be taken literally, in which sense the Catholic Church has always understood them, do not signify, that the body and blood of Christ are present with the bread and wine, but that what seems to be bread and wine, is the true body and blood of Christ: that transubstantiation means nothing but this: and that, notwithstanding all the outcries of our adversaries, who cannot bear the thought that any part of Popery and Christianity should stand upon the level; and all their invectives against us, as if we favored Arianism, because we are not afraid to own the truth, there are as plausible objections, both from authority and from reason, against the consubstantiality of the Son, as there are against Transubstantiation. For if we must believe nothing but what reason by its own lights can know to be possible, the faith of the blessed Trinity ought certainly to be reformed. Why so? Because to reason it seems as impossible that three persons thould be one God, as that three, or three hundred, persons should be one man. And if Christian faith can believe that, which to reason alone without the help of revelation, would appear impossible, the most plausible arguments against Transubstantiation fall evidently to the ground. Yet what is this after all, but only to say, that God, knows more to be true, than man knows to be possible?

They know, or may know, that if Christ be really present under the sacramental signs, he ought to be adored under them, and that the offering of him to his Father is a propitiatory sacrifice.

They know, or may know, that the principles, which

the reformation used for scaffolding are either laid aside, as impertinent; as that all the actions of men in this life are deadly sins, and that it is impossiole to keep the commandments of God: or else have dwindled away into verbal controversies: As the questions of justification, of original sin, of predestination, of merit, and free will, as now stated by many Protestants, are only, or chiefly questions about words.

They know, or may know, that what the ten commandments say of * graven images, or idols, and bowing to them, obliges Christians no further than as it is a precept of the law of nature, that is, as it forbids the worshiping of false gods, and of their graven or painted images. For whatever is not commanded us by the law and light of reason, and nature, but yet was a part of the Jewish institution, is ceremonial only, and does not oblige Christians, as the Church of England rightly observes in the seventh of her 39 articles. Of this we have a plain instance in the commandments, which Christ himself approved.†

To have some days appointed to the worship of God, is a precept of the law of nature. But this law does not determine whether the seventh, for example, or the first day of the week shall be the day of worship. The seventh, in memory of the creation, had been always the day of public worship by the institution of God himself, ‡ which institution was renewed, and confirmed in the commandments, § and ‖ that this day was Saturday

* Exod. xx., 4, 5. Deut. v., 8, 9. † St. Mat. xix., 17.
‡ Gen. ii., 3. § Exod. xx., 8, 9, 10, 11.
‖ Deut. v., 12, 13, 14, 15.

is unquestionable, both from the continual practice of the Jews to this time, and from the gospel itself. For our blessed Saviour was crucified on Good Friday. And it appears by the gospel, that he was put to death on the day * before the Sabbath, and that he rose again the † day after it. Hence in memory of his resurrection, the first, not the seventh, day became, amongst Christians, the day of public worship. So that what the Independents said, in their meeting at the Savoy, the year in which Cromwell died, an. 1658, October 12, was very true, that the day of worship ‡ from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and from the resurrection of Christ was changed into the first day of the week. The observation of the last day of the week being abolished. But if this change be allowed, for which in particular we have no plain scripture, it is manifest, that the commandments oblige Christians no farther than as they are precepts of the law of nature: and that it is as lawful for Christians to bow to a Crucifix, as it was for the Jews to lie prostrate before the Ark, § and for Christians to bow to the ‖ Altar, to the name of Jesus, and to the chair of state. "For where no law is, there is no transgresssion." ¶

Scholars therefore know, or may know, that the dispute concerning the worship of images of Christ and

* St. Mark xv., 42. St. Luke xxiii., 54, 56. St. John xix., 31.
† St. Mark xvi., 1, 2. St. Luke xxiv., 1. St. John xx., 1.
‡ In their declaration of faith, and order. Chap. xxi. numb. vii.
§ Jos. vii., 6. ‖ See the True Church, against Mr. Lesley, vol. iii., page 28, &c ¶ Rom. iv., 15.

his saints is only, or chiefly, a question about words. For if worship, or religious worship, be taken in the Protestant sense, for sovereign and divine worship, we neither worship images nor any creature, but God alone.

But if under the name of religious worship you comprehend a relative and inferior respect, which may be given to creatures on the motive of religion. Joshua and the elders of Israel worshiped the ark; * Protestants worship the altar when they bow towards it; they worship the sacrament when they show a respect for it, and receive it kneeling; they worship the Bible when they kiss it in the court. And in this sense only Catholics believe that the images of Christ and of his saints may be lawfully worshiped.

Hence scholars also know, or may know, that the controversy about the worshiping of relics is a dispute about words.

They know, or may know, that if the saints pray for us, which cannot be questioned with any appearance of reason, it is both lawful and profitable to beg of God that we may partake of their prayers. And when Catholics say, Holy Mary mother of God, pray for us, St. Peter, pray for us, and the like, Catholic faith obliges them not to mean any more than this: "O God, may I partake of the prayers of the blessed Virgin Mary; O God, may I partake of the prayers of St. Peter, &c." So that the invocation of saints is also chiefly or only a question about words.

They know, or may know, that if Rome is meant by

* Jos. vii., 6.

Babylon, what is printed in large characters, * as if it belonged to the Church of Rome, was only meant of heathen Rome, or of paganism at Rome, which the Church of Rome destroyed. And will engaging the people make amends for perverting the text? If the word of God may be treated with this freedom; how would this sentence glare in a Quaker's Bible, "Christ sent me not to baptize;" † and this is in an Arian Bible, "My father is greater than I." ‡ But this is indeed to debase the word of God, to make truth subservient to falsehood, and to adulterate the text by making it to be both text and comment. A stratagem which error may allow, but religion cannot.

QUESTION XI.

How is invincible Ignorance to be had?

Answer. THE only way to have it is to fly from it, and to use all due endeavors to know our duty, and all the parts and branches of it. For invincible and involuntary ignorance is the same thing.

Or, if the word voluntary be taken in a more limited sense, for that which is only voluntary in the cause; invincible ignorance is that which is neither affected (that is, expressly designed) nor voluntary.

Hence it appears, first, that those who desire and en-

* Apoc. xvii., 5. † 1 Cor. i., 17. ‡ St. John xiv., 28.

deavor to be ignorant of their duty, cannot possibly have invincible ignorance of it. For in these ignorance is affected and diabolical.

Secondly, it is also impossible for those to have invincible ignorance, who do not use all necessary endeavors to know their duty. Because it is manifest that this very neglect makes their ignorance voluntary.

Thirdly, It is plain that a person may read the scripture daily, and yet have a voluntary and criminal ignorance of many parts of his duty. Because he may have false and unjust prejudices, both against the sense of scripture itself, and against its orthodox and true interpreter, the holy Catholic Church. For no true sense of scripture can be contrary to that, in which it is, and has been understood by her in all ages since the apostles.

CHARITY AND TRUTH,

ETC. ETC., ETC.

CHAPTER III.

The Catholic Communion is the Communion of those who are known by the name of Catholics, and who have had this name in all ages.

THIS will sufficiently appear by the answers to the following queries.

QUESTION I.

Can the Catholic Church be in separate Communions, as in that of Catholics, of Protestants, of modern Greeks, &c.?

Answer. THIS our adversaries assert; but whether by inclination or by necessity I shall not determine, though I cannot but suspect the latter. For if it be a general rule, that there is no salvation out of the Catholic Church, as was proved in the first chapter, how can a Protestant be saved? How can he be a member of the Catholic Church? The rock is plain. How is it to be avoided?

For this, two courses may be assigned. The first, by holding that Protestants are the whole Catholic Church, the Church of all nations, and the Church of all ages: and that this Church although it be always in being,

for * behold I am with you always, says Christ, even to the end of the world, is not always visible: for in the fifteenth century, and upwards, there was no known society of Protestants on the earth. The second course is, by holding, that the Catholic Church may be, and is, in separate and dissenting communion, as in that of Catholics, of Protestants, of modern Greeks, &c.

The first of these two roads was not thought safe enough, though some bold sailors have attempted it. And therefore our adversaries choose rather to venture their salvation on the second. Which to me seems equally unsafe, whether we consult the scripture, the tradition of all ages, or common sense.

II. The scripture seems very clear. For, 1st, St. Paul tells us, that † without faith it is impossible to please God: and that there is only ‡ one body, and one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism. So that, as there is only one Lord, and one baptism, there is only one true faith. And as the Church of Christ upon earth has only one Holy Spirit: so she is only one body. From whence these consequences may be drawn:

First, that Catholics, Protestants and modern Greeks, have not, all of them, the saving faith, without which it is impossible to please God, which, according to St. Paul, is only one, as there is only one baptism. Whereas Catholics, Protestants, and modern Greeks have three opposite professions of faith: and therefore three differing faiths.

Secondly, that Catholics, Protestants, and modern Greeks are not all of them members of the Catholic

* St. Mat. xxviii., 20. † Hebr. xi., 6. ‡ Eph. iv., 4, 5.

Church. For this Church, according to St. Paul, is only one body: which three separate communions, dissenting from each other, in matters of religion, of government, of divine worship, of clear revelation, and excommunicating one the other, cannot possibly be. For are not separate communions separate bodies? and when societies are divided, with regard to religion, both in the articles of their faith, and in the terms of their communion, is it not as clear as the sun that in matters of religion they are not one society, but so many different and separate societies? if there be any degree of uncertainty in this, are we not yet to learn, what evidence means?

III. Again, Christ himself says, *"Other sheep I have (to wit, the Gentiles,) which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." Where I observe, 1st, that our blessed Redeemer speaks here of his whole Church upon earth. For converted Jews and converted Gentiles are the universal Church.

2dly, that few or no creatures keep so much together as sheep of the same shepherd, and of the same fold. They feed together, they herd together, and they are housed together. So that if you see one you see them all.

And therefore, 3dly, that the unity of Christ's disciples, in one faith and one communion, could not, under the emblem and allegory of sheep, be expressed with more evidence, nor even with more elegance and beauty, than by calling them one flock and one fold.

* St. John x., 16.

But what can be more repugnant to this than the opposite system? are Christians of separate and disagreeing communions, who in religious matters will neither assemble, pray, nor communicate together, in the same fold and in the same flock? May we not despair of finding things evident in scripture, if this be not?

To suppose, then, that Catholics, Protestants, and modern Greeks, are all of them members of the Catholic Church, is contrary to plain scripture.

IV. It is also contrary to the universal tradition of the Catholic Church; as it appears, both from her two creeds, and from her unquestionable doctrine and practice, in all past ages.

First, The creeds were not indeed designed to give us an account of the whole Christian revelation. For moral duties, the sacraments, the commandments, the punishments of sin after this life, even the gospels, and the other canonical books of the Old and new Testaments, are not mentioned in them. But whatever is plain in the creeds gives us evidently the sense of the Catholic Church in all ages.

And, in the baptismal creed, we believe the Holy Catholic Church not Churches; and that this undivided Church is the Communion of Saints. Not that all are saints in it, for there is both corn and chaff on the Catholic floor, but that there are no saints out of it.

In the longer creed, we profess, one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. In which creed, the word one, was added to exclude the Macedonians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, Apolinarians, Sabellians, Arians,

Montanists, and other dissenters, mentioned in * the seventh canon of the second general Council. For it was by this Council, that the ninth article of the baptismal creed was enlarged: and that the Church was declared to be one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical. So that the beloved system of our adversaries is inconsistent with the creed which they receive; and of which the Church of England, in the eighth of her thirty-nine articles, affirms, that it ought to be thoroughly received, and believed, because it may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

Secondly, All ages since the Apostles, have abounded with dissenters and sects of all kinds. Against these, whole armies of Catholic writers have appeared in the field, under the banners of truth, and in defence of that faith, which was once delivered to the saints. Synods of Catholic bishops have met, on the same account in Asia, Africa, and Europe, almost innumerable. Yet no Catholic Synod, in seventeen centuries, has ever acknowledged any Christian sect whatever, to be any part of the Catholic Church. No Catholic Synod, in seventeen centuries, have ever granted that any persons, separated from them in faith or communion, are members of the Catholic Church. No Catholic bishop, in seventeen centuries, no known Catholic writer in antiquity, has ever done it. An undeniable evidence, that the opposite system is contrary to the Catholic tradition of all ages.

And if Tertullian, when a Montanist, for such he certainly was, when he wrote his book † de velandis

* Tom. 2, Council Labb., p. 951. † Tert. L. de vel. virg. C. 1.

Virginibus, was willing to believe, that Catholics, and Montanists were part of the * same Church: our adversaries may read in this unhappy great man their own misfortune. They may see to what precipices error leads: and that a sinking philosopher, when his faith is shipwrecked, as St. † Paul expresses it, will catch even at a shadow. They may see that the greatest wits are not exempt from the greatest falls from presumption, folly, rashness, and schism.

The end of Tertullian was such as his sin deserved. For whether he was ever reconciled to the Catholic communion, says Dr. ‡ Cave, appears not, it is more probable that he was not. He left, indeed, the § Montanists. But instead of returning to the Catholic Church, he became the head of a schismatical faction at Carthage. And his followers were at length brought over to the Catholic faith and communion, by St. ‖ Augustine, anno 395, or thereabouts.

Thirdly, Notwithstanding the great variety of ancient and modern sects: two things are notorious:

First, That all Christian dissenters, from the undivided faith or communion of the Catholic Church, have been always accounted by her to be either heretics or schismatics: heretics, if they reformed her faith, schismatics, if they left her communion, without reforming her faith.

Secondly, That in seventeen centuries, she never esteemed any known dissenters, whether heretics or schismatics, to be any part of her.

* Tert. L. de veland Virg., Cap. ii. † Tim. i., 19.
‡ Apostolici p. 143. an. 1716. § St. Aug. Hær. lxxxvi. ‖ St. Aug. ib.

It is therefore manifest, that the Catholic Church, in seventeen centuries, has always judged herself to be in one undivided communion. So that Catholic dissenters, and Catholic heretics, and Catholic schismatics, are in the universal language and judgment of the Catholic Church in all past ages, as great a solecism, as complete nonsense, as Christian Turks, or Catholic infidels.

The first great and general Council, held at Nicea, anno 325, in the eighth canon, tells us how the Novatians, who called themselves Puritans, are to be * received into the Catholic and Apostolical Church.

The second general Council, held at Constantinople, anno 381, gives us the like account of the † Eunomians, Montanists, Sabellians, and other heretics, on the one hand, and of the ‡ Arians, Macedonians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, and Apolinarians, on the other. It informs us also, that the orthodox Church is the portion of those who are saved. This idea the two first general Councils give us of the undivided faith and communion of the universal Church, which was never questioned by any Catholic synod either before or since the fourth century.

So that all things considered, it may without rashness be esteemed as plain as any demonstration in Euclid, that the opposite system is contrary to the universal judgment and tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages.

V. And after all it is contrary to common sense: for the word Catholic in the Creed, as Catholics have

* Tom. 2. Concil. Labb. page 32, 33.

† Can. 7. Ibidem, page 951. C. D. ‡ Ibidem, A.

always understood it, is a distinctive mark of the Church of Christ upon earth, in opposition to all other separate societies of infidels, pagans, Jews, heretics, and schismatics. That is, it signifies a Church both universal and orthodox.

But how can this idea possibly agree with separate communions? Can faith be questioned without unorthodoxy? Or can there be a breach of communion without schism? And what room is there for a reformation, if either the Catholic or the Greek Church be orthodox?

Both the Catholic and the Greek Church owns seven sacraments. Both of them honor the images of Christ and of his saints, as the second Council of Nicea long since determined. Both of them pray in the same manner to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to all the saints. Both of them adore Christ as really present in the blessed sacrament. Both of them believe transubstantiation. Both of them believe the Mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. Both of them hold that unwritten Apostolical traditions are the word of God, and of equal authority with the scripture itself. Both of them hold that a reformation of these points is departing from the faith once delivered to the saints. If, therefore, both or either of these Churches be orthodox; are Protestants so too? Or can we suppose this, without manifestly rejecting and contradicting common sense? To me, it is clear we cannot. So that the admired System of Dr. Stillingfleet and others, is contrary to plain scripture, to universal tradition, and to common sense.

VI. They say that separate communions may be, and are members of the Catholic Church, provided they agree in fundamentals.

But this is a mistake. For first, schismatics, such as the Quartodecimans were in the beginning, when they only quarreled about the time of keeping Easter, if we consider barely the cause of their schism, agree with the Catholic Church in all points of faith, and only dissent from her and leave her communion upon disputes in which the Christian revelation is not concerned. Schismatics therefore, as such, agree with the Catholic Church in all fundamentals. Yet she never esteemed them to be any part of her. And the second general Council * tells us how the Quartodecimans are to be received into her communion.

2dly, The Montanists in Tertullian's time, that is, in the second and third century, held second marriages unlawful, contrary to St. Paul.†

In the third century, the Novatians, besides this error, affirmed that the Church ought not or cannot remit all sorts of sin, especially that of denying Christ in time of persecution.

In the following age, the Donatists pretended that baptism was not given validly out of their communion, and that the Catholic Church had perished and the rest of the world, by communicating with Cecilian, bishop of Carthage, whom the Donatists thought to be uncanonically chosen.

In the same age, the Apolinarians believed that

* Can. 7. † St. Paul 1 Cor. vii., 39.

Christ had not a human soul, though the gospel affirms it.*

Hence the Montanists in the second century, the Novatians in the third, the Donatists and Apolinarians in the fourth, dissented not from the Catholic Church in fundamentals, unless all points of faith be such. Yet she never accounted any of them to be any part of her. This appears, as to the Novatians, from the Nicene Council; † as to the Montanists and the Apolinarians, from the second general Council,‡ and St. Augustine tells the Donatists,§ "You are with us in baptism, in the creed, and in other sacraments of God; but in the spirit of unity, and in the bond of peace, lastly in the Catholic Church, you are not with us."

VII. But does not the guilt of schism lie only upon those who caused and made the breach? It does. But is the Church which is the pillar and the support of truth, with which Christ has promised to continue always, even to the end of the world, is the Church of all nations and the Church of all ages, is the Holy Catholic Church guilty of schism? Does the communion of Saints make unjust terms of communion? Is one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church to be blamed if there be any divisions in Christendom? All schismatics in seventeen centuries, all who have called themselves the reformers of her faith, and whom she calls heretics, have laid the whole blame upon her. Our adversaries accuse her. But in this, as they copy after the ancient reformers of her faith, we may truly

*St. Mat. xxvi., 38 † Can. viii. ‡ Can. vii.
§ St. Aug. Epist. xciii. olim xlviii. ad Vincentium § 46., p. 249.

say, that they have the universal example and tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages against them.

VIII. Some may perhaps imagine that there is more satire than truth, in saying, that our adversaries act against common sense, when they parcel the Catholic Church into separate and disagreeing communions, although we suppose, that, in regard to the Church, Catholic is the same as universal and orthodox. To satisfy these gentlemen, if possible, I shall lay down the following axioms:

First, It is against common sense to suppose, that the universal Church is orthodox, unless all her parts, by profession, be so too.

Secondly, it is against common sense to suppose that an unorthodox sect is part of the orthodox Church, or that unorthodox and known dissenters are members of it.

Thirdly, It is against common sense to suppose, in a Christian system, any sect or persons orthodox, who deny any point of the Christian revelation duly proposed.

Fourthly, It is against common sense to suppose that the Catholic Church consists of Catholics, and known dissenters.

Fifthly, It is against common sense to suppose that separate societies, who state the terms of communion differently, who avowedly disagree in matters of religion, even of religious worship, and of clear revelation, and who treat one the other as heretics, or worse, should be all of them members of the apostolical, holy, and orthodox Church.

It is therefore against common sense to suppose that separate and disagreeing communions, as that of Catholics, of Protestants, and of modern Greeks, should be all of them members of the Catholic Church.

IX. I had almost forgot, as indeed it deserved it, an objection of some of our adversaries, who would persuade the world that modern Catholics, by saying, that the whole Catholic Church is in their Communion, are fallen into the error of the Donatists, who said the same of theirs. But this is an unpardonable mistake. For the Donatists did not err by saying that the whole Church was in one communion: this being an undoubted principle, in which both Catholics and Donatists agreed. The Donatists therefore erred, and as St. Augustine * observes, were heretics in this, that in their opinion the Church of Christ, by the fault of Cecilian, who was chosen Bishop of Carthage against their will, had perished over the whole world, in which it was promised to be, and had only remained in Africa, in Donatus's party. This was doubtless an heretical error. For the separation of the two Donatuses and all their followers in Africa, from the Catholic Church, was as notorious to the world in the fourth century, as the separation of Luther and all his Protestant followers in Europe from the Catholic Church was in the sixteenth.

Donatists then had controversies with Catholics, as St. Augustine informs us in the place now mentioned: one concerning baptism; the other concerning the Church. The latter dispute was whether the party of Donatus, or those who called themselves Catholics, were

* Lib. de Hæres. Cap. 69.

the whole Church of Christ. For though Christendom was then divided into Catholics, Marcionites, Encratites, Novatians, Manichæans, Arians, Apolinarians, Montanists, Quartodecimans, Donatists, and who can reckon upon all the different heresies of every different nation, says St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists: yet Catholics maintained, that they were the whole Church of Christ, that they were the mother Church, the Catholic or universal Church, the Church of all ages, and in the scripture sense, the Church of all nations. Of this two witnesses, I hope, will be sufficient.

St. Optatus, an African bishop of the fourth century, writing against the Donatists, says: * you pretend to be the whole Church, who are indeed no part of it. That this Church belongs to the Catholics only, and that they are in one undivided communion with the see apostolic, he shows by reckoning up all the bishops of Rome from St. Peter to Pope Siricius, then living. Siricius, says † he, is ours with whom the world is, by authentic letters of communication, in one communion with us. St. Augustine in his book, or in his epistle concerning the unity of the Church against the Donatists, says, ‡ "The dispute betwixt us is where the Church is, whether on our side or theirs; which Church doubtless is one, and which our ancestors have called the Catholic Church, that by this very name they might show her to be universal." "This Church is the body of Christ," as St. Paul calls it.§ From hence it is plain, that he who is not a part of Christ's body cannot have Christian salva-

* Lib. 2. con. parm. † Ibid,
‡ L. de unit. Ecclesiæ. Cap. ii, § Col. i, 24.

tion. Now the question betwixt us and the Donatists is, where this body is, that is, where the Church is. To this his answer is, that according to the scripture, the Church of Christ is the Church of all nations in one communion.

He says in the same chapter, however the case stands with respect to Cecilian, * "We show that the Christian world, with which we communicate, is not in the fault."

Again, As to what we say of Cecilian, "we prove it," says he, † "both by the emperor's letters, and by the communion of the whole world."

And in another place, ‡ "Why then have you wickedly separated yourselves from the seed of Abraham, which is in all nations? Your not being in the communion of all nations which are blest in the seed of Abraham, is a great crime, not of some, but of all of you."

§ You say, "That we, whose communion is spread over the whole world, are a part, and not the whole, but ‖ we see you separated from the communion of the whole world, which is both the greatest of crimes, and a manifest crime, and a crime common to you all."

Nothing therefore is more unquestionable, than that the Catholics in the fourth and fifth centuries maintained that the whole Catholic Church was in their undivided communion. If, then, modern Catholics, by asserting the same thing, are fallen into the error of the Donatists, the Catholic Church in the fourth and fifth centuries was fallen into the same error.

* L. de unit. Ecclesiæ. Cap, ii.
† Ibid.
‡ Lib. 2. Con. Lit. Petil., Cap. xxxii.
§ Ibid., Cap. xxxviii
‖ Ibidem., Cap. viii.

X. But if the Catholic Church be only in one communion, how comes it that there are so many different sects of Christians in the world divided from her? The true and only reason of this is, because they either do not fear God, or do not know all the things which Catholics have to say for themselves. The same reason holds for all past ages.

QUESTION II.

Is not the universal Church in one Communion a plain contradiction?

Answer. It is neither a plain nor any contradiction.

First. That which certainly was in the first century, is no contradiction.

Secondly. That which evidently has been in all ages since, is far from being a contradiction. Yet this is the case.

In the first century, by the incredible and indefatigable labors of the apostles, the Church of Christ was in a moral and limited sense, the Church of all nations. Not that Christianity was then perhaps the national and prevailing religion of any part or province in the world, or that the apostles carried their spiritual conquests into all the kingdoms of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, much less that the Church of Christ was then equal in extent to Christendom; for the first reformers, Simon the conjuror, Menander, Cerinthus, Ebion, the Nicolaites, and the Gnostics, whom St. * John calls

* 1 John ii., 18, 22. 1 John iv., 3. 2 John v., 7.

Anti-Christs over and over, and of whom he says,* "Even now there are many Anti-Christs—they went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us." These reformers, I say, were Christians, but no part of the holy Catholic Church, which was then in a moral sense spread over the earth; because there were great numbers of true believers in many parts of it, especially in the Roman empire.

The apostles were commanded to baptize † all nations, and to preach the gospel ‡ to every creature. "And § their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." "The gospel is come to you," says St. ‖ Paul, "as it is in all the world, and brings forth fruit." But in the first century, it is certain, that all true believers were in one communion; as St. Luke assures us of the first Christians, then called disciples and believers, that ¶ they continued steadfastly in the doctrine of the apostles, and in their communion.

So that in the first century the universal Church was in one undivided communion.

II. Since the time of the apostles, the universal Church and all her general Councils have been in one undivided communion, that is, with the see of Rome.

The first general Council, held at Nice, against the Arians, anno 325, was in communion with Pope Silvester.

* 1 John ii., 18, 19.
‡ St. Mark xvi., 15.
‖ Col. i., 6.
† St. Mat. xxviii., 19.
§ Rom. x., 18.
¶ Acts ii., 42.

The second general Council, held at Constantinople, anno 381, against the Macedonians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, was in communion with Pope Damasus.

The third general Council, held at Ephesus, anno 431, against the Nestorians, whose heresy is not yet extinct, was in communion with Pope Celestin.

The fourth general Council, held at Calcedon, anno 451, against the Eutychians, whose heresy yet continues, was in communion with St. Leo.

The fifth general Council, held at Constantinople, anno 552, concerning the writings of Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuesta, of Ibas, and of Theodoret, was in communion with Pope Vigilius.

The sixth general Council, held at Constantinople, anno 680, against the Monothelites, who said, that there is only one will in Christ, was in communion with Pope Agatho.

The seventh general Council, held at Nice, anno 787, against the despisers of holy images, was in communion with Pope Hadrian the first.

The eight general Council, held at Constantinople, against Photius, anno 869, was in communion with Pope Hadrian the second.

The ninth general Council, the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth, held at Rome, anno 1123, 1139, 1179, 1215, were in communion with Pope Calistus the second, Innocent the second, Alexander the third, and Innocent the third.

The thirteenth and fourteenth general Councils, both held at Lyons, anno 1245 and 1274, were in communion

with Pope Innocent the fourth, and Pope Gregory the tenth.

The fifteenth general Council, held at Vienna in France, anno 1311, was in communion with Pope Clement the fifth.

So were the latter general Councils, at Pisa, anno 1409, at Constance, anno 1414, at Sienna, anno 1423, at Basil, anno 1431, at Florence, anno 1438, and at Trent, anno 1545, in communion with Pope Alexander the fifth, Pope John the twenty-third, Pope Martin the fifth, Pope Eugenius the fourth, and Pope Paul the third.

III. The seven first articles of the baptismal creed were enlarged by the first general Council. Hence the longer creed of the Church is called the Nicene creed. The last five articles were enlarged by the second general Council. And it appears by the seventh canon of this Council, that the holy Catholic and apostolic Church is styled, one in opposition to all Christian dissenters; that is, to all schismatics and heretics whatever, whether they deny the chief, commonly called the fundamental articles of Christianity, as the Arians, Macedonians, and the Sabellians did; or the secondary and less principal ones only, as the Novatians, the Montanists, and the Apolinarians had done; or are separated from the Catholic communion upon a dispute in which faith is not concerned, which was the case of the Quartodecimans. Either then this part of the creed is false in the original and true sense of it, or no known dissenters, whether schismatics or heretics, are any part of the Catholic Church. And if no known dissenters are any part of

her, is she not reduced to one communion? For separate and known communions, without any dissent or disagreement whatever, are utterly impossible.

QUESTION III.

Is the Catholic Church on earth always in being, from her first foundation and enlargement by Christ and his Apostles, to the end of the world?

Answer. To this, Dr. Pearson, the late and learned Protestant Bishop of Chester, in his exposition of the creed will answer for me. * When Christ spoke first particularly to Peter, he sealed his speech with a powerful promise of perpetuity, saying, † "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." When he spoke generally to all the rest of the apostles to the same purpose, ‡ "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" he added a promise to the same effect, "and, lo, I am with you always even to the end of the world." The first of these promises assures us of the continuance of the Church, because it is built upon a rock. The Church of Christ is the § house of Christ, and as a wise man, he has built his house upon a rock; and what is so built, shall not fall. The latter of these promises gives us not only an assurance of the con-

* Page 342. Ed. 4. anno 1676.
† St. Mat. xvi., 18.
‡ St. Mat. xxviii., 19, 20.
§ Heb. iii., 3, 6.

tinuance of the Church, but also the cause of that continuance, which is the presence of Christ. Wherefore, being Christ does promise his presence unto the Church even to the end of the world; he does thereby assure us of the existence of his Church, until that time, of which his presence is the cause. Indeed this is * the city of the Lord of Hosts, the city of our God; God will establish it forever, as the great prophet of the Church has said. "Upon the certainty of this truth, the existence of the Church has been propounded as an object of our faith, in every age of Christianity, and so it shall be still, unto the end of the world."

II. Again, "when we profess to believe the holy Catholic Church, every one," says † he, is understood to declare thus much: "I am fully persuaded, and make a free confession of this, as of a necessary and infallible truth, that Christ by the preaching of the apostles did gather unto himself a Church, consisting of thousands of believing persons, and numerous congregations, to which he daily added such as should be saved, and will successively and daily add unto the same to the end of the world. So that by the virtue of his all-sufficient promise, I am assured that there was, has been hitherto, and now is, and hereafter shall be, so long as the sun and moon shall endure, a Church of Christ, one and the same." Thus this learned Protestant bishop.

* Psal. xlvii., 9. Heb. xlviii., 3. † Page 350.

QUESTION IV.

Is the Catholic Church, upon earth, always a visible and known society?

Answer. It is. Though some of our adversaries, especially the Calvinists, formerly have denied it. So to make room in the dark, for a continued succession of unknown Protestants, from the sixth to the sixteenth century. But their successors have been ashamed of the project, as inconsistent with the scriptures, with the creed, and with common sense.

First, It is inconsistent with the scripture, in which the Church of Christ is described to be at once in a * limited and moral sense, the Church of all nations. This argument the Catholic bishops, in the great conference at Carthage with the Donatists, anno 411, urged against them so successfully, that the schismatics could never hold up their heads after it. The Catholics alleged these texts of scripture.†

Almighty God told Abraham, that ‡ all nations should be blessed in his seed, which seed is Christ.§ This promise, if it be understood of all nations successively, is true without any limitation. For the Catholic Church has been not only numerous, but even the national Church in the chief parts of Europe,

* I say, in a limited sense, for it does not appear, that Chistendom was ever the third part of the world. And the Catholic Church was never any more than a part of Christendom.

† Gen. xxii, 18. Gen. xxviii., 14. Isaiah, liv., 1, 2, 3. Isaiah, xlix., 6. Malach. i., 10, 11. Jerem. xvi., 19. Zephan. ii., 11. Psal. ii., 7, 8. Psal. lxxi., 8, 11. Hebr. lxxii., 8, 11. Acts i., 8, etc.

‡ Gen. xxii., 18. Gen. xxviii., 14. § Gal. iii., 16.

Africa, and Asia, and is now in a great part of America. But in a limited sense, it is, and always will be at once the Church of all nations. And can the Church of all nations be either an invincible or an unknown society?

Our blessed Saviour compares it to * a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid. The prophet Daniel calls it † a kingdom which shall stand forever, and a great mountain which filled the whole earth. Isaiah represents it as a ‡ mountain upon the mountains, and says, that all nations shall flow unto it.

Hence St. Augustine tells the Donatists: § you are not on the mountains of Sion, because you are not in the city, set upon a hill, which has this certain sign, that it cannot be hid. Therefore it is known to all nations. Thus St. Augustine.

God himself, by Isaiah, tells us, that when ‖ the Redeemer shall come to Sion. "This is my covenant with them, says the Lord; my spirit, that is upon thee, and my words, which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, says the Lord, from henceforth and forever." But how can the Church of all nations be ever unknown if the word of God be always in her mouth?

II. Secondly, This is also plain from both her creeds. For Catholic, with regard to the Church, signifies both universal and orthodox. And does it stand with good sense to suppose, that the orthodox and universal Church is either an invisible or an unknown society?

* St. Mat. v., 14. † Dan. ii., 35, 44. ‡ Is. ii., 1.
§ St. Aug. L. 2, con. lit. Petil. Cap. civ. ‖ Rom. x., 10.

III. Thirdly. If the holy Catholic Church be always in being, as was proved, in answer to the last question; it is contrary to common sense, to imagine, that she is an invisible or an unknown society. For if she avoids the wicked devotions of infidels, Jews, schismatics, and heretics, if she professes her faith and the distinctive articles of her communion; she is certainly known. If she does not, how is she holy?* for with the heart a man believes to righteousness: but with the mouth confession is made to salvation.

IV. Let us hear, how bishop Pearson explains the word† Catholic. The most obvious, says he, and most general notion of this Catholicism, consists in the diffusiveness of the Church, grounded upon the commission given to the builders of it, go teach all nations. The temple was the only place, in which the sacrifices could be offered: and so under the law there was an inclosure divided from all the world besides. But God said unto his Son‡ I will give the heathen for thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. And Christ commanded the apostles, saying,§ go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,‖ beginning at Jerusalem. Thus the Church of Christ, in its primary institution, was made to be of a diffusive nature, to spread and extend itself, from the city of Jerusalem, where it first began, to all the parts and corners of the earth. From whence we find them in the¶ Revelation, crying to the Lamb, thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood,

* Rom. x., 10. † Expos. of the Creed, p. 348, ‡ Psal. ii., 8.
§ St. Mark, xvi., 15. ‖ St. Luke, xxiv., 47. ¶ Apoc. v., 9.

out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation. This reason did the ancient fathers render, why the Church was called Catholic: and the nature of the Church is thus described in the scriptures. Thus far this learned Protestant bishop.

QUESTION V.

Is the Catholic Church always orthodox?

Answer. It is. And I have all the reasons on my side, which an unprejudiced Christian can desire, to wit, plain scripture and universal tradition.

First, The Church of Christ is styled by St. Paul * "The pillar and support of truth." A description which cannot possibly agree with an unorthodox Church.

2. All doctrinal points of Christianity, clearly revealed to the apostles, and by them delivered to the Church, whether they be the primary or secondary articles of religion, are equally the word of God. And of these God himself assures us, that "they † shall not depart from her mouth, nor from the mouth of her seed, nor from the mouth of her seed's seed forever." If so, she is always orthodox, both in the primary and secondary articles of the Christian doctrine.

3. Supposing the truth of Christianity, it is plain to common sense, that a Church, which is unorthodox either in the chief or in the inferior points of the Christian revelation, is not the true Church of Christ;

*1 Tim. iii., 15. † Is., lix., 21.

but the true Church of Christ shall always subsist, from its first foundation by Christ to the end of the world. For speaking to St. Peter, he said,* "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Therefore the Catholic Church is always orthodox, both in the chief and in the inferior points of Christian revelation.

4. Christ does not teach and remain with those who reject and contradict his doctrine, even in the less principal parts of it. But he said to the first pastors of his Church,† "Behold, I am with you all days, and at all times, even to the end of the world." Therefore his Church is always orthodox, even in the inferior articles of Christianity.

5. If the Church of Christ ought to be heard, even in private cases betwixt man and man; much more in those where religion is concerned. But even in private cases,‡ "If he will not hear the Church, let him be to you as a heathen and a publican."

Therefore in disputes of religion she ought always to be heard. And consequently in these she is always orthodox.

6. "God has not only given us apostles, prophets, and evangelists, but also pastors and teachers,§ till we all come into the unity of the faith, that henceforth we be not like children, tossed every way, and carried about with every blast of doctrine, by the slight and craft of men, contriving to deceive us.

But unorthodox guides cannot secure us against error.

*St. Mat. xvi., 18. †St. Mat. xxviii., 20.
‡St. Mat. xviii., 17. §Eph. iv., 11, 12, 13, 14.

Therefore the Catholic Church and the body of her pastors are always orthodox.

In this sense we have reason to understand these words of Christ to his apostles, * "I will ask the Father, and he will give you another comforter, that he may abide with you forever, the Spirit of Truth." For the apostles, in their own persons, were not to remain here forever.

Secondly, The perpetual orthodoxy of the Catholic Church may be also proved by the tradition of all ages.

The first converts of Christ and his apostles were called disciples and believers, afterwards † Christians. But when dissenters, as Simonians, Nicolaites and Gnostics, of whom St. John said, ‡ "They went out from us, but they were not of us;" presumed to take upon them his name whom they blasphemed, and to call themselves Christians, the main body of true believers, without departing from its former title, took upon it the name of Catholics, from its undoubted properties, universality and orthodoxy. For being spread, in a manner, over the earth, and being far more numerous than any sect of Christians, it was properly universal; and because it alone retained the faith and communion of the apostles, it alone was orthodox. So that if the title of the holy Church distinguished true believers from infidels and Jews, that of Catholics distinguished them from all Christian dissenters, whether heretics or schismatics. And that it might do this more remarkably, it was inserted into both the creeds.

* St. John xiv., 16, 17. † Acts xi., 26.
‡ 1 John ii., 19.

In the longer, we believe one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church.

In the baptismal creed, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints.

The truth of these creeds is undeniably attested by the universal tradition of the Catholic Church in all ages. And if the creeds be always true, the universal Church is always orthodox. Hence her perpetual orthodoxy is as certain as universal tradition can make it.

Besides, how can her faith be reformed, either in the chief, or in the inferior articles of it, if she be always apostolical? How can she state the terms of her communion wrong, if she be always the communion of saints?

Either therefore her creeds are not always true, or she is always orthodox and irreformable, both in the chief and inferior articles of the Christian revelation, and in her stating of the terms of communion with her.

Hence she has always asserted her orthodoxy. She has in seventeen centuries constantly separated from her communion all dissenters, and branded them with the infamous name of heretics, whoever have undertaken to reform her faith, either in what our adversaries call fundamentals, or in any other points. She has, in seventeen centuries, branded all those with the odious name of schismatics, who, without reforming her faith, have left her communion, and charged the guilt of her division upon her, which guilt they call causal schism. Of these two points the Quartodecimans, the Bishop of Istria in the sixth age, the Montanists, the Novatians, the Do-

natists, the Apolinarians, the enemies of holy images, called Iconoclasts, and others may be witnesses. And what are all the heretics mentioned by St. * Irenæus, by Tertullian, or a contemporary author, in the end of his treatise of prescription, by St. † Epiphanius, by St. ‡ Philastrius, by St. § Augustine, by ‖ Theodoret, but so many unfortunate wretches who stand upon record, like malefactors hanged in chains, to deter wicked men in after ages from attempting to reform the belief of the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints?

If you ask me whether the orthodoxy proved and promised by the word of God to the Catholic Church, is to be understood so, that she never falls into any error against faith, or so that she never falls into any evident and pernicious error against it, I answer that her orthodoxy extends to both these cases. Though if it were only promised with regard to the second, our adversaries ought to be content with it, and to embrace her communion. Because by judging as she does, we cannot run into any pernicious errors, into which we may easily fall, by opposing her decrees.

II. But both the creed and the scripture secures the Church of Christ from any error against faith. For she is certainly unorthodox if she errs against it. And if she be unorthodox, the creed is certainly false which pronounces her to be Catholic, that is universal and orthodox. Again, if she errs against the faith once delivered to the saints by the apostles themselves, she is

* In Libris de Hæresibus. † In Panario.
‡ Lib. de Hæresibus. § Lib. de Hæresibus ad quod vult deum.
‖ In Libris de Hæreticis Fabulis.

not apostolical. And if she is not apostolical, the creed is false, by which she is declared to be one, holy, Catholic, and apostolical. If, by a wrong decision of faith, she excludes good and orthodox Christians from her communion, she is not the society and communion of saints. And if she is not the communion of saints, the creed is false which affirms this of her. What I have here said may be reduced to this short syllogism: If the Church which we profess in the creed to be one, holy, Catholic, and apostolical, and to be the communion of saints, should fall into any error against faith, then the creed would be false. But the creed cannot be false, therefore she cannot fall into any such error, and is by consequence an unerring guide in all her decisions of faith.

This would appear in the holy scripture with equal lustre, if men could persuade themselves to read it in such a manner, as it ought to be read, that is without prejudice. For if the Church, in her decisions of faith, errs against any part of the Christian revelation, she is not the pillar and the support of truth.* She retains not the true and pure word of God in her mouth forever.† She is not the true and pure Church of Christ against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. ‡ She has not those pastors with whom our Saviour promised to remain, and to teach all nations, even to the end of the world. § Her decisions are not such that he, who will not hear them, is to be accounted no better than a

* 1 Tim. iii., 15.
† Is. lix., 21.
‡ St. Mat. xvi., 18.
§ St. Mat. xxviii., 20.

heathen and a publican.* Her pastors and teachers cannot secure her children against error.† She has not the spirit of truth remaining with her forever. ‡

CONCLUSION.

Thus far then we see, what is meant by the Catholic Church.

First, It is a Church which is only in § one communion.

Secondly, It is a Church which is ‖ always in being, from its establishment and foundation by Christ, to the end of the world.

Thirdly, It is a Church which is ¶ always a visible and known society, being, in a limited sense, the ** Church of all nations.

Fourthly, It is a Church which is †† always orthodox, both in the chief and in the secondary articles of religion.

And consequently it is a Church whose doctrine, in matters of religion, cannot be reformed.

If these points have been duly and rationally proved, as I presume they have, I need not say any more on this head. But to set the subject in a more extensive view, and to apply the principles, already proved, a few questions may be added.

* St. Mat. xviii., 17. † Eph. iv., 11, 12, 13, 14.
‡ St. John xiv., 16, 17.
§ See the first and second question of this chapter.
‖ Quest. 3d. ¶ Quest. 4th. ** Quest. 4th. †† Quest. 5th.

QUESTION VI.

Are not new terms of communion, new definitions of faith, and new creeds, a manifest proof of the Church's unorthodoxy?

Answer. This is no better than a vulgar error. False or doubtful definitions of faith, false or doubtful creeds, false or doubtful additions to the ancient creeds, and unreasonable terms of communion, or any of these, would make the Church to be unorthodox: but new definitions of faith, new creeds, new additions to the ancient creeds, and new terms of communion, cannot do it. Because a new declaration of the ancient and apostolical faith cannot make her unorthodox—unless she be unorthodox because she does her duty.

NEW CREEDS.

II. Any truth, which is certainly revealed, may be put into the creed, whensoever the Catholic Church pleases: which Church, if it be always orthodox, as was proved in the last question, is an unexceptionable judge of all revealed truths. She might therefore, if new heresies required it, lawfully make a creed of 39 articles. Because new creeds, and new additions to them, if true and certain, are neither commanded nor forbidden by the word of God: but are left to the prudence and discretion of the holy Catholic Church. Though she seldom or never uses this power, but when the defence of truth against new heresies requires it.

III. The two first general Councils, an. 325 and 381, made a new creed. The first inserted the consubstan-

tiality of the Son, against Arians: and concerning the eighth article of the baptismal creed, said only, I believe in the Holy Ghost.

The latter added against the Macedonians, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified; who spoke by the prophets, &c.

The clause who proceeds from the Son was added after the fourth century: though read in that which we call St. Athanasius's creed.

Of these the Church of England, in her 39 articles, says:* the three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius's creed, and that which is commonly called the apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received, and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy scripture. She reads the Nicene creed, with the additions made at Constantinople, and with the clause concerning the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father, and the Son, in her communion service. And St. Athanasius's creed, on Christmas day, on the Epiphany, on St. Mathias, on Easter day, on Ascension day, on Whitsunday, on St. John Baptist, on Trinity Sunday, &c.

Her fifth article is: the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father, and the Son, is of one substance, majesty and glory, with the Father, and the Son, very and eternal God.

IV. The third and fourth general Councils added nothing to the creed. But the fourth against a new heresy of Eutyches, not yet extinct, published a new

* Art. viii.

* definition of faith. A method which the Catholic Church has used against all new heresies, whenever there seemed to be an occasion for it, in all ages since.

V. These new creeds, and definitions of faith, the Arians, the Macedonians, the Eutychians, called Innovations, and new articles of faith. Not that they contain any doctrine but what was revealed to the apostles: but because all dissenters from it are Innovators and reformers of the faith once delivered to the saints.

VI. The Catholic Church, against the late heresies, has made no creed. But Pope Pius the fourth published a profession of the Catholic faith, which our adversaries are pleased to call his creed. And by the same rule all the professions of faith, which Protestants have made, will be so many Protestant creeds. Thus the Protestants of † Bohemia, an. 1535, give us a new creed of 20 articles.

Those of ‡ Saxony, an. 1551, furnish us with another Protestant creed of 20 articles.

Those § of Scotland, an. 1568, give us a Scotch creed of 25 articles.

Those of ‖ Germany, an. 1530, sent us the first Protestant creed from Augsburg of 28 articles.

Besides, we have a creed from ¶ Switzerland, an. 1566, of 30 articles; a ** Wirtemberg creed, an. 1552,

* Act. v., tom. 4. Conc. Labb. pp. 566, 567. Et in Alloc, ad Imper., p. 819, &c.

† In Syntag. Confess. Par. 2, p. 177

‡ Ibid., p. 52.

§ Ib. Par. 1, p. 111.

‖ Ib. Par. 2, p. 9.

¶ Ib. Par. 1, p. 1.

** Ib. Par. 2, p. 102.

of 32 articles; a * Dutch creed confirmed at Dort, an. 1619, of 37 articles; and a † Huguenot creed of 40 articles, approved in their synod at Rochelle, an. 1561.

The 39 articles of the Church of England were certainly designed to be a profession of faith, and so they are called by ‡ Protestants abroad. But her faith in 1727 is not altogether the same that it was in 1562. For now some of the 39 articles are esteemed no better by her dutiful sons, than probable and pious opinions. But if a profession of faith may be called a creed, we shall still find matter enough in the 39 articles for a Protestant creed.

And why may we not reckon the following articles in it?

1. § Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation. Hence ‖ besides the scripture, the Church ought not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

2.¶ Concupiscence, after baptism, hath of itself the nature of sin.

3.** Voluntary works besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety.

4.†† The Church of Rome hath erred in matters of faith.

* Par. 1, p. 129. † Ibid., p. 77.

‡ Anglicana Confessio Fidei, in Articulis, de quibus convenit inter Archiepiscopos et Episcopos utriusq; provinciæ, in Synodo Londinensi, an. Dom. 1562. Syntag. Par. 1., p. 99.

§ Art. vi. ‖ Art. xx. ¶ Art. ix. ** Art. xiv. †† Art. xix.

5. * It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, to have public prayer in the Church, or to administer the sacraments in a tongue not understood by the people.

6. † "There are only two sacraments of the gospel, baptism, and the supper of the Lord."

7. ‡ Transubstantiation is repugnant to the plain words of scripture.

8. § The wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ in the sacrament,

9. ‖ Both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

10. ¶ There is no other satisfaction for sin, but that alone, which was finished on the Cross.

11. ** The sacrifices of Masses were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

12. †† The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England. ‡‡ The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is repugnant to the word of God. §§ That we are justified by faith alone, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort. ‖‖ To the queen's majesty the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

* Art. xxiv. † Art. xxv. ‡ Art. xxviii. § Art. xxix.
‖ Art. xxx. ¶ Art. xxxi. ** Art. xxxi. †† Art. xxxvii.
‡‡ Art. xxxii. §§ Art. xi. ‖‖ Art. xxxvii.

NEW TERMS OF COMMUNION.

VII. Creeds and definitions of faith are terms of communion. But new creeds and new definitions of faith, are not always new terms of communion. Because the things which they contain, are sometimes duly proposed to the faithful, before the creeds or definitions were made.

VIII. Luther began to write against indulgences, and to reform the Catholic faith, anno 1517. But before he was born, what the Council of Trent defined, anno 1563, concerning apostolical traditions; justification and merit; original sin; seven sacraments; the real presence, and transubstantiation; the sacrifice of the altar; desiring the prayers of the saints; honoring the images of Christ and his saints; honoring the relics of the saints; indulgences, and prayers for the faithful departed; all these, I say, were, before Luther was born, the public faith of the Catholic Church, and were therefore included in the terms of her communion, long before the council of Trent, and the pontificate of Pius the Fourth.

I do not even except the celebrated clause in pope Pius's profession of faith, about which there is so much noise to so little purpose, viz., that this is the true Catholic faith,* out of which, when duly proposed, no one can be saved. For the pope does not say, that the knowledge and belief of all those articles, which he names, is necessary to salvation, whether they be duly proposed or not. And is it not, in all mankind, a duty

*Extra quam nemo salvus esse potest. In Constit. Pii, iv., an. 1564.

necessary to salvation, 1st, to believe in general the whole Christian revelation, after a due proposal of Christianity in general; and 2dly, to believe each particular article of the Christian revelation, after a due proposal of each article in particular? To question this, is evidently to renounce either Christianity or common sense. What then do the clamors of our adversaries mean? Is it to draw women and children over to the reformation? Or must not Catholics be allowed to believe the Catholic faith? Or is it a commendable quality to defend the reformation, with noise and outcries against common sense?

IX. But if new terms of communion make the Church unorthodox, it is impossible to excuse, either the first general Councils, or the Catholic Church in the fourth or fifth century from unorthodoxy.

First, The Council of Nice, in the Creed, not only declares, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; that he is God from God; true God from the true God; begotten not made; which had been always the language of the Catholic Church, but also, that he is consubstantial with the Father. A term, which the Catholic synod, anno 270, against Paul of Samosata, is commonly supposed to have taken in a different sense, and even to have rejected. But however that be, it is certain enough, that Catholics, in the three first centuries, were at liberty to speak of the substance of God, without any restraint, and to say, either that he is, or that he is not a substance. Which liberty the Nicene fathers, and all the Catholic Councils since, thought fit

to abridge in the creed itself, and therefore changed the terms of communion.

Secondly, They altered the terms of communion, by commanding that Easter should be kept by all the faithful, on the Sunday, next after the equinox, and the fourteenth day of the moon. So that Quartodecimans became schismatics, and are treated by the second general council as such,* by doing that, which the Asiatic Churches, especially those of the Lesser Asia, and afterwards those of Syria and Mesopotamia, had done in the Catholic communion.

Thirdly, The Council of Nice decreed, concerning the Novatians, that when they returned to the Catholic Church, they should give a writing under their own hands, in which they promised† to receive the whole doctrine of the Catholic Church, and to communicate with those who had been twice married, or who had fallen in the time of persecution; which had not been practised from the beginning, and was therefore an addition to the terms of communion.

Fourthly, The same may be said in regard to baptism given out of the Catholic Church. For St. Cyprian, and his African synods in the third century, were of opinion, that this is always invalid. But both the Nicene Council,‡ and the second general Council § suppose, that baptism given by the Novatians is valid. The latter supposes the same of baptism given by the Arians, by the Macedonians, by the Quartodecimans, and by the Apolinarians. This doctrine of the

* Can. vii. † Can. vii. tom. 2. Conc. Lab. page 951. B.
‡ Can. viii. § Can. vii.

universal Church, as St.* Augustine observes, the Donatists denied, and were therefore judged by him to be † heretics.

Fifthly, The opinion of the Chiliasts or Millenarians, who believed, that Christ would reign visibly on the earth a thousand years before the last judgment, was received in the first ages by many eminent men, but is now universally exploded, as it was in former times, by St.‡ Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in the third age, and by St.§ Ephrem, St.‖ Epiphanius, St.¶ Gregory Nazianzen, St.** Jerom, St.†† Augustine, and ‡‡ Eusebius in the fourth and fifth. St.§§ Philastrius judges it to be heresy. So does ‖‖ Theodoret, and St.¶¶ Fulgentius.

Sixthly, The Apocalypse, the epistle to the Hebrews, the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, the epistle of St. James, and that of St. Jude, are now reckoned among the undoubted and canonical books of the New Testament, and are included in the terms of Catholic communion. But in the third and fourth century they were not. For, as Dr. Walton says:*** "Concerning the Apocalypse, and some other parts of the New Testament, there was a doubt for some ages; till at length, rather by a tacit consent of

* Lib. 1, de Bapt., Cap. xviii. † Hær. lxix., etc.
‡ Apud Euseb., L. vii. Hist. Cap. xxiv,, page 271, 272, Edit. Vales.
§ Opusc. 101. ‖ Hær. 77. Sec. 36. ¶ Orat. li., lii.
** In Jerom. xix., page 311. In Ezech., xxxviii., page 514. Tom. 5.
†† De Civit. Dei., Lib. xx. Cap. vii. Et lib. de Hæres. Cap. viii.
‡‡ Lib. iii. Hist. Cap. xxxix., page 112. §§ Hær. 59.
‖‖ Lib. iii., Hær. Fab. Cap. vi. ¶¶ Lib. con. Pintam Arianum Cap. ii.
*** Cap. iv. § 6. page 31.

the whole Church, than by any express decree, all the books, as they read at present, were received and approved." Thus this learned divine of the Church of England, in the disputations, before his Polyglot.* So that Protestants are as sure, that new terms of communion do not render the Catholic Church unorthodox, as they are that all the books contained in their Bible, are a rule of faith

Lastly, The Catholic Church cannot be unorthodox, but either by erring against the faith, or by making unreasonable terms of communion. If so, she is neither unorthodox, by new definitions of the primitive faith, nor by making new and necessary terms of communion against new heresies. For new heresies, as the Council of Calcedon long since observed, require new cautions and provisions, which before were of no use. New invented errors require new declarations of faith. And if men would have us content with the old ones; "Let them preach this to heretics," says the Council, "that they may not hurt the faithful, not the pastors, that they may not help them." For laws are designed to restrain delinquents, not to curb the power of the judge. New antidotes therefore against new errors, cannot cast a blemish on the Catholic Church, unless self-preservation make her unorthodox. And after all, what contradiction can be more glaring than an unorthodox Catholic Church?

* See the Rule of Faith, anno 1721, page 109, 110, 111, 112.

QUESTION VII.

What rule does the Catholic Church follow in her definitions of faith?

Answer. HER rule of faith is scripture, and apostolical tradition. For,

First, This tradition is recommended by the holy scripture itself. "Therefore, brethren stand fast," says St.* Paul, "and hold the traditions, which you have been taught, whether by word, or by our epistle." See also† where the Protestant Bible has ordinances, instead of traditions.‡ For that which the apostles delivered to the Catholic Church by their tongues, was as much the word of God, as that which they delivered to her by their pens. And the scripture nowhere tells us, that whatever the apostles taught, was committed to writing.

Secondly, The original and traditionary sense of the New Testament, is a considerable part of the Christian revelation; which sense, at this distance of time, cannot be known by reading the Bible.

For the holy scripture has two senses; the one seeming, the other real. The real and true sense of the New Testament is the original sense of it; that is, it is the sense in which it was written, or the sense which was intended by the sacred penman.

This is also the traditionary sense of the New Testament, or the sense in which it has been understood from the beginning, by apostolical tradition. For of all the disciples, only two were inspired to write, St. Mark and

* 2 Thes. ii., 15. † 2 Thes. iii., 6. 2 Tim. i., 13, 14. 2 Tim. ii., 2, and 1 Cor. xi., 2. ‡ 1 Cor. xi., 2.

St. Luke. And of the thirteen apostles (I include St. Paul) only six were writers. St. Andrew, St. James, son of Zebedee, St. Philip, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Simon and St. Mathias wrote nothing. But, in declaring the true sense of the Bible, and in delivering it to posterity by word of mouth, that is, by apostolical and oral tradition, all the apostles had a share.

By this the first Christians knew what books of the Old and New Testament were inspired. For Christians did not receive the Old Testament from the Synagogue, but from the apostles, and by a revelation made to the apostles.

By this oral and apostolical tradition the first Christians knew the true sense both of the Old and New Testament.

But how did they know it with regard to the New?

First, By the general system of Christian doctrine; which system was the Christian rule of faith, before any part of the New Testament was written. This system or rule of faith, is that great and sacred * depository which St. Paul recommended so earnestly to his disciple St. Timothy, then Bishop of Ephesus. And by this rule the first Christians knew whether the Son and the Holy Spirit are creatures, or not; and whether divine worship ought to be given also to them, or to the Father only; whether infants ought to be baptized or not; whether washing literally one another's feet is a gospel precept, or not; whether the ten commandments, which were given to the Jews, oblige Christians any farther than as they are moral precepts of the law of nature;

* 1 Tim. vi., 20. 2 Tim. i., 14.

so that whatever they contain, of rites and ceremonies, ceases; whether Christians are bound to keep Saturday holy, which was the day appointed by the ten commandments; and whether it be lawful for them to make or to keep an ivory or painted crucifix, and, at the sight of it, to bow to Christ whom it represents, as Protestants bow at the name of Jesus, as they bow to the altar and to the chair of state; whether Christ instituted no signs of grace, but only two; or whether ordination, the sacerdotal absolution, &c., are not effectual signs of grace; whether Christ ought to be adored in the blessed sacrament or not; and whether, if the words of consecration be literally true, that which seems to be bread and wine is not, after consecration, the true body and blood of Christ; whether charity, or the concern which the saints upon earth had for our salvation, ceases by death, or they still desire it, which we call praying for it, as much as they did whilst they were mortals; and whether it be a sin to desire of God, that we may have a share in their prayers; whether Christians ought to pray for the rest and relief of their brethren departed, or not; and whether the deceased are capable of present relief, if they are not in a state of suffering, and in a middle state betwixt heaven and hell; whether it was a sin in the Christians to have a particular esteem and veneration for the handkerchiefs and aprons of St. Paul, merely because they were his, when they saw * miracles done by applying them to the sick, and to the possessed; whether converted Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, were not once bound in conscience to observe what

* Acts xix., 11, 12.

the apostles at Jerusalem commanded, and thought * necessary; I mean, to abstain from eating blood and things strangled; and whether it was not still true that what † goes into the mouth does not defile a man, though disobedience to lawful superiors may; whether apostolical tradition be not as necessary, to keep the original and only true sense of the New Testament, as it is to keep the books themselves: whether we have any divine promise that the scripture shall never be lost; and if by the force and power of infidels, that inestimable treasure were taken from us, would Christ cease to remain according to his promise, with true believers even to the end of the world; what would be their rule of faith when the scripture is supposed to be gone; and is that a necessary and whole rule of faith, without which faith would subsist; whether Toby, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees, are inspired or not. And since these things cannot now be certainly discovered in the New Testament itself, how attentively soever it be read: It is plain that the whole Christian revelation cannot be conveyed to us by the scripture only.

Secondly, The first Christians knew the original and only true sense of the New Testament, by the daily instructions of the apostles, and of other apostolical men, and by their daily practice in the public exercise of religion. For apostolical faith, and apostolical practice, are the two great and necessary lights, without which, if you read the scripture, you read it in the dark. By the latter of these two lights, the first Christians could have resolved the questions I lately mentioned, of ador-

* Acts xv., 28, 29. † St. Mat. xv., 11.

ing Christ and the Holy Ghost, as God: of infant baptism: of the washing of feet: of keeping Saturday holy: of effectual signs of grace: of adoring Christ in the blessed sacrament: of praying for the dead: of honoring relics: of obeying the commands of lawful superiors. But the instructions of the apostles, and of other apostolical men in the first century, are yet more extensive. For by them the first Christians were enabled to know both these and all the other points above mentioned.

Thirdly, The first Christians knew the original and only true sense of the New Testament, and of the whole Bible, by the authentic and frequent expositions of the apostles, and of the apostolical and inspired men, their fellow laborers in the Christian mission, who upon a thousand occasions declared what the scripture meant in such and such places. For, as religion was the whole concern of these great men, it cannot be doubted, but they made it their business, on all occasions, to expound the scripture according to the original and true sense of it.

II. The seeming sense of the New Testament is that which the words might bear, setting aside the lights which the first Christians had to understand it right: or it is the sense which the words may bear to a sober Turk, or an Indian. Which sense is often false, and always uncertain in disputed points. And it is this that makes our adversaries so wavering and unsettled in matters of religion: what one of them grants another denies: and what he holds to-day he will condemn as heartily to-morrow. Now would the sober Turkish or Indian judges, to whom some of our adversaries, in reli-

gious controversies, think fit to appeal, be more united in their opinions. For if the Bible were put into the hands of a hundred discreet Turks, or Indians, in giving us what they thought the true sense of it, they would differ from each other, on a hundred occasions, in matters where salvation is concerned. So impossible it is to find the original and only true sense of scripture, at this distance of time, without the help of apostolical tradition.

III. The rule of faith is the measure and means by which we judge that our faith is right. And to be a rule of true faith, it must have two properties. First, this rule must be known by him who uses it. Secondly, it must be certain. For the rule of true knowledge cannot be unknown to him who follows it. And the rule of certain knowledge cannot be uncertain. Scripture and apostolical tradition are known to the Catholic Church. And if she be always what she is, the Catholic and orthodox Church, they are a certain rule for her direction.

IV. When I say that scripture is part of her rule of faith, my meaning is not that we are sure that the scripture shall never be taken from her by the violence of wicked men, for where does the word of God assure us of this? but that, whilst she has it, she will always use it as a part of her rule of faith. The whole rule then of Christian faith is scripture and apostolical tradition; but the necessary rule of Christian faith is apostolical tradition only. See the Rule of Faith, an. 1721, * of the postscript.

* Pages 14, 15, 16.

V. But is not the scripture, considered in the sense in which it was written, the whole rule of Christian faith? In this I dare not be positive. Probably it is. But this includes both scripture and apostolical tradition, and cannot be certainly discovered by the bare reading of the Bible, with the utmost attention, as I observed before.

QUESTION VIII.

Is the faith and language of the Catholic Church the same in all ages?

Answer. HER faith is always the same; her language is not.

Her faith is always the same. Because Catholic faith and apostolical faith are the very same thing. If so, she has no articles of faith but what were revealed by the apostles. And if she has no rule of faith, no means of knowing what they believed, but only the scripture, which she sees and reads, and apostolical tradition, which is conveyed to her either by oral tradition, which she hears, or by the writings of Catholics in former times, which she reads and sees, she does not come to the knowledge of the primitive revelation of Christian doctrine by any revelation made immediately to her, but only by natural and human means, which the providence of God foresaw would have this effect, according to his promise, that she should be always what she is, the Catholic and orthodox Church.

II. But did not the Catholic Church make new articles

of faith, when she defined against the Donatists, that baptism may be validly administered out of the Catholic Church, and when she settled the whole canon of scripture? For the first was not an article of faith in St. Cyprian's time, nor was the latter, even in the fourth century. Answer. She made indeed, as an orthodox guide, those two articles, of which some of her children had formerly doubted, known to the faithful, but she did not make them articles of faith. For this is more than the apostles themselves could do. Articles of Christian faith are the work of God only. He made them all, by revealing them to the apostles, who were commissioned to make them known to the Catholic Church; as she is commissioned, when the primitive and apostolical faith is called in question, to make it known to her children. For to make articles of faith, and to make them known, are quite different things. God made them articles of faith, but the Catholic Church and the apostles made them known, as orthodox and authentic publishers of the divine revelation. English laws are not made, but by the king and parliament; but those who print them by authority make them known to the public.

It was therefore an article of faith, in St. Cyprian's time, that baptism may be validly administered by heretics and schismatics; but many Catholics, (as St. Cyprian and his three Councils at Carthage,) did not know it. For the Catholic Church, the orthodox judge of controversies, had not then examined and decided the question, since Agrippinus had started it. And it was her authority that convinced St. Augustine, as it

would also have convinced St. Cyprian, had he lived to see it. "Neither durst I," says he, "be positive, that baptism can be administered validly out of the Catholic Church, if I were not supported by the unanimous authority of the whole Church; to which authority St. Cyprian would doubtless have surrendered, if the truth of this question had been then, upon a diligent inquiry, declared and settled by a general Council. For if he extols St. Peter, for being patiently and peaceably corrected by one later apostle, how much sooner would he, and his provincial council, when truth appeared, have yielded to the authority of the whole world?"

It was revealed to the apostles and was therefore an article of faith from the beginning, what books were inspired. But in relation to some of these books, it was not a known article of faith in the fourth century. For the whole Christian revelation is not known to all the faithful at all times, nor is every article of it in particular always proposed to them to be believed. It is sufficient for them to believe as much as they have an opportunity to know. And as for the rest, to be assured that they have an infallible rule, and an orthodox guide.

III. What then does the Catholic Church propose to her children to be believed in particular? 1st, All things which are clear in scripture. 2dly, All things defined by any general or particular Councils, which are known to have delivered her faith, or which she is known to have approved.

IV. But though the faith of the Catholic Church be unchangeable, her language is not. For,

First, It does not appear that the apostles ever said, that God the Father is a substance, although in the Church's sense of this word, it is undoubtedly a revealed truth, or that the Son and the Holy Spirit are consubstantial with him.

Secondly, Mr. Whiston observes, that if an author speaks of the blessed Trinity, you may know by his way of expressing himself, whether he lived before or after the Arian controversy. This observation, generally speaking, is right. For when a heresy appears, especially if it seems to be of a malignant and spreading kind, all Catholics are upon their guard; common prudence obliges them to speak dogmatically and exactly in reference to it. And if the foregoing ages had been endued with the gift of prophecy, I mean, if they had foreseen what heresies would afterwards happen, we might doubtless have expected the same exactness from them. But this was not consistent with the order of Providence. For* there must be heresies, that true virtue may be made manifest. And the only occasion of their happening, is because they were not foreseen, or because there was no caution used against them, while it appeared unnecessary, if not ridiculous to use it.

This, together with the bringing of the word, consubstantial, into a general use, concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit, gives us the true reasons why Arianism, under which I also comprehend Semi-Arian-

*1 Cor. xi., 19.

ism, or Macedonianism, occasioned a change in the language of Catholic writers.

For 1st, Because this heresy began in the fourth century, all Catholics, with regard to it were then obliged to speak dogmatically and exactly, that is, with caution and reserve.

2dly, Because it was not foreseen before it happened, this caution was not used in the three first centuries. Hence their language is, of necessity, different.

3dly, To distinguish true believers from Arians, the Catholic Church thought it requisite to add the word, consubstantial, to the creed; which word became of general use. And since it had never been of general use before; this helped to make the difference more remarkable, between the language of the three first, and of the following centuries.

In short, if the Arian heresy had never happened, we might still have spoken with the same liberty, concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit, as Catholics did in the three first ages. But St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Basil, and St. Athanasius, would have been unpardonable; if after Arianism was known, they had written with no more reserve, than Catholic writers did before it had appeared in the world.

The most dangerous adversaries of Christianity, in the first three hundred years, were the pagans, the Jews, the * Sabellians, who denied the distinction of

* For Praxeas and Noetus preached the same error in the beginning of the third age. And Noetus had received it from Cleomenes and Epigonus, according to Theodoret, Lib. iii., Hær. Fab. Cap. iii.

the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the Ebionites, who affirmed that Christ had no being, before he was born of his Mother, and that then he was made a man only. So that the business of Catholic writers, in the three first ages, was chiefly to prove the unity of the Godhead, Messiahship of Jesus, the distinction of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and that Christ had a being, before he was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, and even from the beginning of the world.

But Arianism, under which I include Macedonianism, was a more plausible, and therefore a mere pernicious refinement of the heresy of Ebion. The Arians held, that the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are the two first creatures; that the Father in the beginning, made the Son; and that through the Son, he made both the Holy Spirit, and the world.

This gave a new bias to the language of Catholic writers. Because it obliged them to speak dogmatically and exactly, concerning the divine persons; and to avoid all tropical expressions, which had been elegantly used by Catholic writers formerly.

This rational and true account of the Arian heresy, shows us, how much Dr. Clark, and Mr. Whiston are mistaken, when they conclude, that Catholics, before and after the Nicene Council, had not the same faith, because their language is different. For if St. Athanasius had lived in the third century, he would have spoken in the same manner, concerning the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as the Ante-Nicene writers did. And if these by a miraculous gift of prophecy, had foreseen the errors of Arius and Macedonius, they would have

written with as much caution and reserve, that is, as dogmatically and exactly, as St. Athanasius did afterwards. But to expect this from them, without a miracle, is not wisdom, but stupidity.

And if men would lay unjust prejudices and partiality aside; if they would argue consequently, and suffer themselves to be directed by common sense, they could not but see, that the same rule will hold in regard to all other heresies. For had Catholic writers in the ten first centuries, the spirit of prophecy, which they wanted even in the first? They could not foresee what Arius and Macedonius would assert after the third age. And did they foresee, that Berengarius would deny the real presence and transubstantiation, after the tenth? The Arian heresy finds, I may almost say, a thousand shelters in three ages only: and is it likely, that the Berengarian heresy will find none in ten? Catholic writers, before Arius and Macedonius came upon the stage, treated the Son of God, and his Holy Spirit, without caution and reserve which they thought unnecessary, as indeed, it was. But can they, with any reason, be supposed to speak more nicely and dogmatically of the blessed Sacrament, than they did of Christ himself? Transubstantiation was a term unknown to the apostles: and was not consubstantiality? The first was not generally used before Berengarianism required it, to distinguish Catholics from Dissenters. And was the latter, till Arianism made it useful and almost necessary upon the same account? Catholic writers had, against the error of Berengarius, little or no caution, till it appeared in the eleventh age. And

did they use any great caution against Arianism or Macedonianism, till the fourth, in which they saw it? The Arian heresy, without changing the faith of the Catholic Church, occasioned a visible change in her language, after three centuries. Why then might not the Berengarian heresy do the same after ten?

Thirdly, It does not appear, that the great mystery, of one God, and three divine persons, was expressed under these terms in the apostolical age. And if we believe *Facundus Hermianensis, the name of divine persons was unknown, till Sabellianism obliged in a manner, the Church to use it. But what we now mean by one God, and three divine persons, was the belief of all good Christians from the beginning. For they always believed, that the Father is not the Son; that the Holy Spirit is neither the Son, nor the Father; that the Son is not a creature; that the Holy Spirit is not a creature, is not a being which God made, and can unmake at pleasure, and that there is only one God.

Fourthly, All tongues of frequent use, even those which we call dead languages, because they are nowhere native languages of the common people, are in a continual change. Words and phrases are differently used, and joined with different ideas, not only at different times, but even at different places, by different persons, and by the very same writer on different occasions. So that they have a temporary, a local, a personal, and an occasional signification. New, and sometimes opposite ideas are attached to the very same words and

* Facundus L. 1. de tribus Capitulis. Cap. iii., p. 8. C. D. Edit. Sirmondi. an. 1679.

phrases. And what one age frequents, the next but one scarce understands.

This makes it utterly impossible for Catholic writers, how much soever their faith may be the same, to have always the same language. For either they will mean the same thing, when the words seem to be contradictory; or when the words and phrases are the same, they will understand them in a different, and even in a contradictory sense; though both parties follow the general and known use of their own times. Men of judgment cannot wonder at this, because they see it is a necessary consequence of this mortal state; and that persons must either not write at all, or if their writings survive their own age, they must be content to fall into times, in which their words will meet with quite opposite ideas: for if, in every language of frequent use, the ideas of some words and phrases in particular (as undoubtedly they are) are always shifting; how can it be otherwise?

No rule then can be more deceitful, than to judge of the signification of all words and expressions whatever in former ages, by the sense which they bear in ours; or to conclude that an ancient writer is unorthodox, because Catholics at present do not speak as he does. And yet it is by this weak and rash proceeding that the brightest stars in antiquity are eclipsed, and given over to the Arians. And by the same injustice, the Berengarians, and other heretics of note may pass for the true and orthodox followers of antiquity. All honest writers desire to be understood: and they can guess pretty nearly how their words will be construed in the present age, for which they write. But how they will be un-

derstood, in all things, three hundred years after their death, is what they cannot possibly know without a miraculous gift of prophecy. Hence the most detestable heresies may appear to have a shelter in antiquity, For caution in a writer is ridiculous when it is not necessary. And it is unnecessary, when neither past nor present heresies call for it. Who then does not see, that primitive writers had no more reason to fence against Arianism, Berengarianism, or any latter errors, than we have to fence against heresies which may rise three hundred years hence?

But does not this change and vicissitude, to which all languages of frequent use are subject, render the authority of the fathers precarious and uncertain in controverted points? To the Catholic Church, and to Catholics, it does not. To others, it does.

For these, having no better rule than the present use of words, to judge of their signification in the fathers, when this is changed, are frequently led into the greatest errors. But Catholics have a surer and better rule to discover the sense of all orthodox writers, whether ancients or moderns, when their language varies from the present use. This rule is the great system of Catholic faith, which is the same in all ages, and with which all orthodox writers agree. By this rule we know that the Son is God, and that what appears to be bread and wine, after consecration, is the body and blood of Christ. By this rule we know, that whatever Dr. Clark alleges, or can allege from the three first centuries, in favor of Arianism, is impertinent, and contrary to the true sense of the primitive writers. For, if Catholic faith be, as

indeed it is, the same in all ages, what the Catholic Church professed in the beginning of the fourth century was believed by her in the third, in the second, and in the first. And could the Ante-Nicene writers be orthodox, if they dissented from the Catholic Church in their time? Again, would not Dr. Clark be thought fit for bedlam, if he should pretend to know the sense of the third age better than the Nicene bishops did, who had lived in it, who had taught it to others, and who had received the great deposit, the system, rules, and precepts of Christianity from it? The same may, and must be said of the Berengarians, and all other heretics, who no sooner appeared in the world but they were condemned by the Catholic Church; which, if it be always orthodox, as was shown in the fifth question, has the same faith in all ages.

V. Is not then the Catholic Church tied to the words of scripture? In translating it, she is. In expounding it, either by her creeds or by her definitions of faith, she is not.

In translating the scripture into another language, care must be taken, that the translation agrees with the scripture, as far as the two languages will well bear. For, without this, it is not a translation, but a paraphrase.

But when the Catholic Church expounds the scripture either by her definitions of faith, or by her creeds, this caution is not requisite, for these reasons:

1st. Because a true exposition of scripture, according to the original sense of it, is part of the Christian reve-

lation. St. John said, "The word was God."* If you had asked him whether he meant it literally or tropically. he would have answered, literally. For so the first Christians understood it, who adored Christ as God, as it manifestly appears from the letter of a heathen magistrate, one of their persecutors, to the Emperor Trajan. Which magistrate was a man of sense, and had his information not by hearsay, but from the confession of Christians themselves, who yielded to the violence of her persecution. In short, he was the younger † Pliny, then governor of Pontus and Bithynia. His letter was written in the year of Christ 104; that is, within four years after the death of St. John the evangelist, and three years before the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. So that the exposition of this clause, "The Word was God," as well as the text, was part of the Christian revelation. For nothing can be so wicked as to adore a metaphorical God.

When St. Matthew ‡ recorded the command of Christ, of baptizing all nations, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, he knew whether children, before they came to the use of reason, were comprehended in this precept, or not. The first Christians also knew it from the practice of the apostles. The exposition therefore of this text with regard to children

* St. John i., 1.

† Affirmabant autem (lapsi) hanc fuisse summam, vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenq; Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem. Plin. Lib. x. Epist. cii. ad Trajanum Imper.

‡ Chap. xxviii., 19.

was part of the original sense of it, and of the Christian revelation.

Again, if St. Matthew understood what he wrote, which cannot be questioned, he knew who the Son and the Holy Spirit are, and whether they are creatures, or not. The first Christians also knew it, when baptized in their name. The exposition therefore of this text, with regard to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, was part of the original sense of the text, and of the Christian revelation.

When St. John related these words of Christ,* "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," and † "You also ought to wash one another's feet." He knew whether the apostles and other Christians were commanded to wash one another's feet literally, or only in a tropical sense. The first Christians knew it also from the practice of the apostles, and of the apostolical age. If so, the exposition of this text is part of the original sense, both in the mind of the writer and of those to whom it was published, and consequently it was part of the Christian revelation itself.

But, without descending to more particulars, the apostles and evangelists wrote nothing but what they could expound. The first Christians, to whom their writings were published, saw nothing plain in the New Testament, or in the whole Bible, plain, I say, either from the written word itself, or from the Christian rule and system of faith which the apostles delivered by word of mouth, or from the practice of the apostles in the public exercise of religion, but what they were able to ex-

* Chap. xiii., 8. † Verse 14.

pound; to declare whether it ought to be taken literally or tropically; and in what sense it is plain. If so, the original and true sense of the holy scripture was a part of the Christian revelation, which was made to the apostles, and by them was published to the Catholic Church, as well as the words of the holy scripture themselves. And if there be any seeming obscurity in either of these two parts, with relation to conscience or religion, we have both an infallible rule and an orthodox guide for our direction.

2dly, No heretics, who allow the Bible, would ever grant themselves condemned if the creeds, definitions, and censures of the Catholic Church were confined to the bare words of scripture. For who ever was, or ever can be, so stupid as to maintain that which he grants is contrary to the word of God? To say, therefore, that the creeds, definitions, and censures of the Catholic Church ought to be confined to scripture terms, is only to tell us that disputes of religion ought to be endless; that wicked heretics, who * wrest the holy scriptures from the original and true sense, to their own perdition, and to the poisoning of innumerable souls (for their words † eat and spread like a gangrene) ought to be tolerated in the Catholic communion, whether they be Eutychians, Nestorians, Pelagians, Priscillianists, Apolinarians, Arians, Novatians, Sabellians, Montanists, Tatianists,‡ Valentinians, Ebionites, or others of the like infamous crew. But this proposal should have been

* 2 Peter iii., 16. † 2 Tim. ii., 17.
‡ Tert. L. de Præscript. C. xxxviii.

made to the Catholic Church in her infancy. It is too late to offer it after seventeen centuries.

VI. But is it in her power, absolutely speaking, after she has inserted any terms into the creed, to remove them from it? To remove them as false is what she cannot do. And to remove them as unnecessary is what she will not do, as long as she is sensible that more ill than good may come of it; though the same power which made it can unmake a law.

Hence the Council of Ariminum did not err against faith, when it agreed, by the violence and unfair proceedings of the Emperor Constantius, to remove the word consubstantial from the creed.

QUESTION IX.

Is the discipline of the Catholic Church the same in all ages?

Answer. THE language of the Catholic Church, and her discipline, fall under the same rule. Both are changeable, being equally subject to the common vicissitude of human things, and to the will of her pastors. By discipline I mean the particular forms, practices and ceremonies, as in her public prayer, in her sacrifice and sacraments, in her government, and in the public worship of Almighty God, which, with regard to the law of God are indifferent, and are neither forbidden nor commanded by it. In these there have been so many changes that it is not easy to reckon them all up. A few instances will be sufficient.

First, Our Saviour instituted the blessed sacrament of his body and blood, and administered it to his apostles * after supper. He commanded them † to do what he had done. But this discipline, though Christ himself was the author, was soon changed. The blessed sacrament was seldom or never given after supper, but before breakfast, and to those only who were fasting. "It is plain," says St. ‡ Augustine, "that when the disciples received first the body and the blood of the Lord, they did not receive them fasting. But must therefore the universal Church be abused, because this sacrament is always received fasting? For it pleased the Holy Ghost since, that, in honor of so great a sacrament, the Lord's body should enter into the mouth of a Christian before other meats. For this is the reason why this custom is observed over the whole world. Our Saviour, to recommend more effectually the greatness of this mystery, chose to make this deep and last impression on the minds and memory of his disciples, from whom he was to go to suffer. And therefore he did not command in what manner it should be received for the future; but left it to the apostles, by whom he was to direct the Church."

Secondly, Baptism, for the first thousand years and more, was generally administered by immersion; that is by plunging the person who was to be baptized, almost naked, whether man or woman, under the water. Which is the more perfect representation of the § death,

* St. Luke xxii., 20. 1 Cor. xi., 25. † St. Luke xxii., 19. 1 Cor. xi., 24. ‡ St. Aug. Epist. liv. olim Epist. cxviii. ad Januarium. § Rom., vi., 3, 4, 5.

burial, and resurrection of Christ, and what the name of baptism did more properly signify. But pouring water on the baptized person, as it was the more decent, so it became the more general custom in many places since.

Thirdly, Tasting of milk and honey was an ancient ceremony of Christian baptism, mentioned by Tertullian and St. Jerom. But being only a ceremony of baptism, it was subject to the authority of the Catholic Church, and has been wholly laid aside by her.

Fourthly, Whilst paganism was the prevailing religion of the Roman empire, there was little or no use of pictures or images in the Catholic Church. Nor was it fit they should be frequently used, till idolatry, and the danger of it, was extirpated. But to think, that this danger still continues, has more of affectation, superstition, and pharasaical zeal in it, I might say of stupidity, than of Christian prudence, religion, and charity.

QUESTION X.

Are Protestants the whole Catholic Church, or are they in Communion with it?

Answer. THEY grant, they are not the whole Catholic Church. And in this, I presume, we may believe them. But whether they are so happy as to be in it, or not, is a different question; in which when the following reasons are answered, I shall think myself mistaken.

First, The Catholic Church is only in one communion, as was proved in answer to the first and second question of this part. If therefore Protestants are not at present the whole Catholic Church upon earth they are no part of it. For it is plain fact, that no society, besides that of Protestants, is in the Protestant communion. The Roman Church is not in it. The Greek and Russian Church is not in it. Eutychians and Nestorians are not in it. And what other Christian society is there in the world?

I might add, that Protestants themselves are not all in the same communion, and therefore cannot be a part of the Catholic Church, which is so.

Secondly, The Catholic Church is always in being, from its first institution by Christ to the end of the world, as was proved in answer to the third question. But Protestants are not in communion with any Church, which was always in being, since our Saviour's time. For what Church is that?

Thirdly, The Catholic Church is always a visible and known society from our Saviour's time to the end of the world, as was proved in answer to the fourth question. But Protestants are not in communion with any Church which was always a visible and known society, since our Saviour's time. For what Church can that be?

Fourthly, The Catholic Church is always orthodox, even in the secondary articles of religion, as was proved in answer to the fifth question. But Protestants are not in communion with any Church, which was always orthodox, even in the secondary articles of religion,

from its institution by our blessed Saviour, to the end of time. For pray, let that Church be named.

Fifthly, The Catholic Church is always the Church of all nations, in a moral sense, as was shown in answer to the fourth question, proof the first. But Protestants are not in communion with any Church, which was always the Church of all nations, or which was the Church of any nation, before the beginning of the reformation. They are not therefore in communion with the Catholic Church.

Sixthly, If Protestants are not in communion with the apostles, they are not in communion with the Catholic Church. And in the eighteenth century, there is no other way of being in communion with the apostles, but by being in that Church, which they built, which has in her communion a continued succession of pastors and doctrine from the apostles to the present time, as was proved in answer to the fourteenth question of the first part.

Seventhly, It is an undeniable fact, that in the year of Christ, one thousand five hundred, there were no Protestants known in any part of the world. England then acknowledged the Pope's supremacy in spirituals, and had been in his communion, from the first conversion of our Saxon ancestors to Christianity, that is, for the space of almost nine hundred years. Scotland, Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Savoy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Flanders, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary, owned the Pope's supremacy, and had been in his communion, from their first conversion to Christianity. The Roman Bishop's had then,

according to Dr.* Heylin's computation, challenged a supremacy over all the Church, above eight hundred and ninety years.

Luther began, in Germany, to preach against indulgences † and, together with his adherents, was excommunicated by Pope Leo X., anno 1520. Here the Protestant sect began; but they took not the name of Protestants, till the year 1529. And after some years, the Church of England followed their example.

This was undeniably the beginning of the Protestant communion, or society, in the sixteenth century. How then are they in communion with the Church of all ages since our Saviour's time? Before their separation from Rome, or of Rome from them, as they are pleased to call it, they were evidently a part of the Roman communion. And when they became a new raised society what more ancient society of Christians was there upon earth, which received them into its communion? America was then peopled by infidels, and by some few Catholics. Africa was inhabited by infidels. And no Christian society could be found in Asia or Europe, which could admit Protestants into its communion.

The Vaudois were then a new sect, which began after the middle of the twelfth century. But without renouncing the principles of their sect, they neither did, nor could, receive Protestants into their communion.

Much less would the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and Semi-Eutychians, or the Greeks do it, who esteemed Protestants no better than heretics and apostates.

* Cosmography, book 1, p. 91. Anno, 1669. † Anno, Chr. 1517.

Crusius and James Andrew, Lutheran divines of Tubingen, solicited the Greeks, but they soon found that the attempt was vain and impracticable.

The Greeks, before the Greek schism began, had submitted for many ages, to the Pope's supremacy; and long before Luther's time, had agreed with the Church in communion with Rome, in which Church, Luther, and the first Protestants were baptized, that an unwritten apostolical tradition is of equal authority with the written word of God; that there are seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation, the blessed eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy order, and matrimony; that Christ is really present in the blessed sacrament, and that bread and wine are truly and substantially changed into his body and blood; that the holy oblation on the altar, is a sacrifice of mercy and propitiation, for the living and the dead; that the just who before their death had not fully satisfied for their sins, are in a state of suffering for a time, and may be relieved by the prayers and alms of the living; that it is good and profitable to pray to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the rest of the saints; that their relics ought to be honored; that a veneration and respect is due to their images; that monastical vows ought to be observed; that the Church laws of fasting, &c., oblige Christians in conscience.

And as all these points of doctrine were held unanimously for many ages before Luther's time, not only by the Catholic Church, but also by the Nestorians, by the Eutychians, and Semi-Eutychians, by the Greeks, and Russians, and had been included, for many ages

before the reformation, in the necessary terms of Catholic communion, it is plain:

1st, That the Catholic Church did not exclude Protestants, by making new terms of communion.

2dly, That if any hidden Protestants lurked in the Catholic Communion, before the reformation, they could not be better than hypocrites, that is the worst of villains. For how could a Protestant, without hypocrisy, join in public prayers to saints? How could he, without hypocrisy, kneel or bow at the elevation of the blessed sacrament? Is not adoring that, as God, which he judges to be only a wafer, black and barefaced idolatry? And is a plain Protestant idolator no villain? Is it not hypocrisy, for a man to receive confirmation in his health, and extreme unction at his death, as holy and religious rites of divine institution; when in his heart he judges them to be no better than superstition, abomination, and marks of the beast? And if this hidden Protestant happened to be a pastor or a bishop, how many thousand times, in his life, must he have done that, which he himself judged, and, in the Protestant language, knew, to be idolatry? How many millions of times, must he, in matters of religion, have played the sanctified hypocrite? So that either there were no Protestants in the Christian world immediately before the reformation, or if there were any, they were the worst of men. But I am willing to suppose, that there were no such hypocrites, either among the Vaudois, or in any other Christian society. And he must utterly renounce common sense, who can persuade himself, that men can, without hypocrisy, pretend to be members of

any Christian society, though they inwardly dissent from it in those points of doctrine, which are known to be the public terms of communion with it. Nor will our adversaries, I suppose, think it worth their pains, to make a strict inquiry after Protestant hypocrites, before the reformation.

II. But are not Protestants still in communion with the Church of Rome, inasmuch as they agree with her in some points of doctrine? To this, I answer, that a man must have little hopes, and as little desire of salvation, who dare venture it, upon such an argument, or rather upon such a quibble as this.

For first, Notwithstanding this agreement, Catholics and Protestants are evidently in separate communions, and disagree in matters of revelation and religion. And it was proved in answer to the first question of this part that the Catholic Church neither is, nor can be in separate communions; as of Catholics, of Protestants, &c.

Secondly, The Catholic Church is, from our Saviour's time, always in being; it is always a visible and known society; it is always, in a moral sense, the Church of all nations; it is always orthodox, both in the chief and in the secondary articles of religion, as it was proved in answer to the third, fourth, and fifth question of this part. For the Catholic Church, and the Church which is both universal and orthodox, are only different names of the very same thing. If so, all those who pretend to reform her faith, are unorthodox, and are no part of her.

Thirdly, The Catholic Church has always excluded

from her society, not only those who dissented from her in the chief articles of religion, called fundamentals, as the Marcionites, the Manichæans, Sabellians, Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, but all those who dissented from her in the secondary articles of religion, as the ancient Montanists, the Novatians, the Donatists and the Apolinarians of the fourth century, or who even retained her whole faith, but left her communion, and were therefore called schismatics, such as the bishops of Istria were in the sixth century, and the Quartodecimans in the fourth. For the secondary articles of the Christian revelation are as certainly revealed as those which are the most fundamental. And it was somewhat too late for reformers in the sixteenth century to doubt, whether it belonged to the Catholic Church to judge what is or is not revealed, after she had always supposed it to be both her right and her duty, for fifteen hundred years, and had practiced it upon all occasions, whenever the faith, once delivered to the saints, was called in question.

Again, If she be always the communion of saints, if she be always orthodox in stating the terms of communion, and always holy, schismatics and heretics are equally inexcusable.

Fourthly, If Protestants are still in communion with the Church of Rome, because they agree with her in some points of doctrine, these consequences are undeniable.

1st, That all Christians who are, or ever were, are and were members of the Catholic Church. Because they all agreed with her in this, that they believed in

Christ. So that Valentinus, with his thirty male and female deities, Marcion, who blasphemed the Creator, Manichæus, with his heathen and hellish system, and all the heretics who are either mentioned by Theodoret, by St. Augustine, by St. Epiphanius, or by St. Irenæus, or whom St. Paul delivered to Satan,* were in the holy Catholic communion; even those whom St. John calls † Antichrists, "who went out from us," says he, "but were not of us; for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us."

2dly, That all Jews and Turks are in the Catholic communion, because they believe in God; and the Jews receive one half of the Bible.

3dly, That all who believe a Deity are in the Catholic Church, so that pagans, though they adore many gods, will not be excluded from it.

4thly, That professed atheists must also have a place in the ark. For atheism does not hinder them from agreeing with us in some parts of the Christian revelation, in which manners are concerned; as "Do as you would be done by; you shall not steal," &c. Is not this a noble invention, which is able to bring all mankind at once into the Catholic Church, without either preaching or praying.

III. Some divines of the Church of England think, or at least say, that we injure that Church by affirming that she is in a new raised communion. Because she was a national Church both before and after the re-

* 1 Tim. i., 20.

† 1 John ii., 18, 19, 22. 1 John iv., 3. 2 John, 7.

formation; and reformed herself in a canonical and regular manner.

Answer. She was a national Church both before and since the reformation. But that she reformed herself is not so clear. The English reformation was begun by King Henry the Eighth and his parliament. It was carried on by the authority of a minor, King Edward the Sixth and his parliament. And all the world knows, that it was finished by Queen Elizabeth and her parliament, in the first years of her reign. Now we are not to learn, that acts of parliament are not acts of the Church, but acts of the State. Secondly, that unless the king or queen, and parliament, be the Church of England, she did not reform herself, but was reformed by the state. She did not even consent to the reformation, till it was not safe to oppose it; as I have * shown elsewhere. King Henry forced his clergy to comply. That the clergy under the reign of King Edward the Sixth opposed the reformation, appears by several † instances from Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Heylin, Bishop Ridley, Mr. Fuller, and Fox. Queen Elizabeth's ‡ first parliament gave her power to reform the nation. But all the bishops opposed the act; and all but one, whom Camden calls "the calamity of his see," were deposed by the queen. The convocation and both the universities remonstrated against her reformation. Of which we have in Mr. § Fuller an authentic copy, taken from the public register.

* Modern Controversy, p. 50.
† Ibid., pp. 53, 54.
‡ Ibid., pp. 55, 56, 57.
§ Lib. ix., p. 54.

IV. But whatever the English reformation was, doubtless it was not very canonical.

First, Because Church work ought to be done by Church men.

Secondly, Because we have no instance, in fifteen hundred years, of any nation reforming in itself, by state or Church laws, the Catholic faith, without heresy or schism.

V. But as long as we are allowed to say that white is white, that black is black, and that the sun shines when we see it, we must beg leave to say, that the Church of England is in a new raised Communion, or in a communion which began since the beginning of the fifteenth century. For let the number of Christian societies or communions be what you please when those centuries ended: as first, Catholics, secondly, Nestorians, thirdly, Eutychians, fourthly, Greeks and Russians, &c., the number of societies or communions in Christendom cannot be increased, but there must be a communion added. And if this be not a new raised communion, there never were any such in Christendom. For James Nailor and his Quakers were men before they were Quakers, and Quakers are still in communion with themselves. The Anabaptists were men before they were Anabaptists, and are still in communion with themselves. The Lutherans were men before they were Lutherans, and are still in communion with themselves. So were the Eutychians, the Nestorians, the Pelagians, the Arians, the Novatians, the Montanists, and all other sects. If, then, the Church of England is not in a new raised communion, because she did not separate from

herself, but only from the Church in communion with Rome, whether her doctrine be true or false, there was never any new communion in Christendom. If she is only in communion with herself, her communion began in the sixteenth century, under the reforming reigns, when she increased the number of societies and communions in Christendom. If she is in communion with Protestants somewhat more ancient than herself, as with the Lutherans, for example, her communion began, anno Christ 1520, when Luther and his associates increased the number then present of societies and communions in Christendom. For whether Luther's doctrine was true or false, this fact is unquestionable.

VI. But will not the Church of England be offended at the freedom with which this matter is treated?

Answer. Had I imagined it, I had never attempted this subject. But this Church, in disputes of religion, in which her honor is concerned, only requires two things, which are extremely reasonable. The first is, that she be used with all respect and good manners which the matter will bear.

The second is, That neither passion nor zeal loads her with unnecessary reproaches. For one of the most eloquent of her pastors tells us, that she neither forbids nor fears a free and impartial examination of her doctrine and religion. She even glories in allowing this freedom to her adversaries, and therefore cannot be offended at it.

QUESTION XI.

Were the Vaudois, or poor men of Lyons, the whole Catholic Church, or were they in Communion with it, since their separation from Rome?

Answer. THE singular esteem which some Protestants have for the Vaudois, occasioned this question, which otherwise might seem very impertinent. The Vaudois began about the year 1160. Their author was Peter Waldo, a rich man of Lyons, from whom they were called Waldenses, and by corruption, as Dr. * Heylin observes, Vaudois.

Waldo, says the Doctor, was the beginner of this reformation, a wealthy citizen of Lyons, about the time of Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany. This emperor was Frederick the First, who reigned from the year of Christ 1152 till 1190.

And since we do not find in history that the Vaudois, when separated from Rome, embraced the communion of any church more ancient than themselves, it is evident that they neither were the Church of all ages since our Saviour's time, nor in communion with it. And that the reformation of the Vaudois was as much known in the year eleven hundred and fifty, as the Protestant reformation was in the year fifteen hundred.

I need not here confute the wretched mistake of some who, as † Reinerius, a Dominican of the thirteenth age, tells us, placed the sect of the Vaudois in the beginning of the fourth century, and even in the time of the apostles, since Dr. Heylin has done it for me.

* Cosmogr. L. 1, p. 193. † Rein. L. de Hæreticis. Cap. iv.

II. The Vaudois in their first rise, as Monsieur * du Pin says of them, were not guilty of any great errors. They were then rather an association than a sect. Their profession was poverty, though they spoke very disrespectfully of the clergy. And if they held any errors, they were not publicly known. It was perhaps for their disrespect to the clergy, and because they pretended to wear a particular habit, and to be a religious order, without the approbation of the holy see, that Pope Lucius the third, who sat in St. Peter's chair from the year of Christ 1181 to 1185, called them heretics. However they applied themselves to Pope Innocent the third, anno 1212, and desired him to approve their institute, as Conrad abbot of Ursperg, who then saw them at Rome, testifies. And it is remarkable that the Pope neither objected to their heresy nor schism, but disliked their dress and their mien, and approved St. Francis's order in their stead. So that what the abbot calls a sect, was then no more than an association, or an order only. After this the Vaudois fell openly into schism; and as schism easily leads men farther, they adopted many of those principles which Protestants have since embraced. But they were unorthodox too upon other accounts.

1st, They held,† that pastors, whose life is irregular, can neither consecrate the blessed sacrament, nor give absolution.

2dly, That‡ malefactors ought not to be put to

* Cent. xiii., p. 147 in the English translation.

† Reinerus. Lib. de Hær. cap. v. ‡ Ibid.

death: and that all princes and judges are damned for this crime.

3dly, That * to take an oath is always a deadly sin.

4thly, That † all pastors are obliged to poverty, and to renounce their estates.

5thly, That Christians ‡ ought not to pay tithes.

6thly, That any of the Vaudois, for need,§ provided he wear sandals, may consecrate the blessed sacrament.

III. The Vaudois when in power, were fierce and turbulent enough, as Dr. Heylin's account of them shows. Lyons, says he, in his ‖ cosmography, proving no safe place for them, they retired into the more desert parts of Languedoc, and spreading on the banks of the river Alby, obtained the name of Albigenses.

Supported by the two last errors of Tholouse, they became very masterful and insolent, insomuch that they murdered Trincanel, their viscount, in Beziers, and dashed out the teeth of their bishop, who had taken Sanctuary in St. Magdalene's Church, one of the Churches of that city. Forty years after which high outrage, the divine Providence gave them over to the hands of the Croisadas, under the conduct of the French kings, and of many other noble adventurers, who sacrificed them in the self-same Church, wherein they had spilled the blood of others. About the year 1250, they were almost rooted out of that country also. The remnants of them being bettered,

* Reinerus, Lib. de Hær. cap. v. † Pilichdorf, Reiner, &c.
‡ Reiner, Ebrard de Bethunia, Cap. x., & Claudius Seysellus.
§ Petrus Vallium Cernai. ‖ L. 1. p. 193.

if you believe the doctor, by this affliction, betook themselves unto the mountains, lying betwixt Dauphiny, Provence, Piedmont, and Savoy.

Concerning their religion, Dr. Heylin says, it may not be denied, but that amongst some good wheat, there were many tares. And I look not on these men and their congregations, as founders of the Protestant Church, or of the same Church with them, as I see some do.

IV. But in one or two things the doctor was mistaken. 1st, In attributing to Waldo the errors of his sect. 2dly, In making him to except against the subtraction of the cup in the blessed sacrament. And if his sect had done it, it was no more than might have been expected from such illiterate and perverse men. But neither Reinerus, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, nor Pilichdorf, who wrote a hundred years after him, take notice of any disagreement which the Vaudois then had with the Roman Church on that subject.

V. Among other wicked branches of the Vaudois, mentioned by Reinerus, one was that of the Cathari, or Manichæans of the thirteenth age. The dissenters called Albigenses, from the town of Alby, seated on the river Alby, in Languedec, were of this kind; who spread themselves in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Arragon. And we must either deny the whole history of the thirteenth century, or we must grant that these were Manichæans. Yet Mr. Whiston, in his Essay on the Apocalypse, printed in the year 1706, is

not afraid to make* the two witnesses, who shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, covered in sackcloth† to be the Waldenses and Albigenses, prophesying in sackcloth the whole one thousand two hundred and sixty years of the reign of the Antichristian powers, till the year of Christ 1686, when they were slain in the prophetic style, by Savoy and French troops, but restored to their former habitations, anno 1690. So impertinently wicked will some men be, who pretend to learning! How the Vaudois were turned into Sacramentarians, and then into Calvinists, Monsieur du Pin tells us. This sect, says‡ he, increased very much in the thirteenth century, in spite of the Inquisitors, and spread itself in Arragon, and in the valleys of Piedmont, where it has remained, still holding the same maxims, till it was united in the year 1530, with Oecolampadius and the other Sacramentarians, to whom the Vaudois sent Peter Mason and George Morel, who entered into a treaty with Oecolampadius, and Martin Bucer. These two latter proposed to them the rejecting of several of their errors, by acknowledging, that "a Christian might swear lawfully, and exercise the office of a Magistrate; that the ministers might possess something de proprio; that one might punish malefactors with death; that wicked ministers might administer the sacrament, &c.," and they engaged them to maintain others, which they had never maintained before; particularly, that the body of Jesus Christ is not in the Eucharist; and that there was no necessity of confessing their sins, a doctrine which till

*P. 204, 207. † Apoc. xi., 3. ‡ Cent. xiii., p. 149.

then the Vaudois never openly opposed. However, notwithstanding this union, most of the Vaudois persisted still in their old principles, till necessity forced them, in the year 1630, to take the Calvinists for their pastors. Thus du Pin.

VI. The Vaudois were but little esteemed, and even overlooked by many of the English Protestants. Mr. Chillingworth grants that, before the reformation,* all the visible Churches in the world had degenerated from the purity of the gospel of Christ.

Mr. Perkins, in his exposition of the creed† says, that for the space of many hundred years, before the reformation, an universal apostasy overspread the whole face of the earth.

The Homily Book, which the Church of England in her 35th article approves, as containing godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, and which she desires may be read in Churches diligently and distinctly, says, that‡ laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom, have been, at once, drowned in abominable idolatry, for the space of eight hundred years and more. And it is now time to leave Waldo, and his associate beggars.

* Religion of Protestants, Chap. v., § 13. † p. 400.
‡ Homily against Peril of Idolatry: part 3d., p. 251. an. 1687.

QUESTION XII.

Did the Greeks, before their schism, own the Pope's supremacy?

Answer. THEY did. The Greek schism was begun, after the middle of the ninth century, by Photius, the most learned, as well as the most villainous man of his age, who was wicked enough to usurp the see of Constantinople,* whilst its bishop, St. Ignatius, was living. And when the pope excommunicated him for it, he maintained his usurpation by schism, anno 863, 864. But this schism was not of any long continuance, for it almost died with Photius. After nearly two hundred years, Michael Cerularius, bishop of Constantinople, was more successful in renewing it, anno 1035. But the Greeks, long before this, had owned the Pope's supremacy.

First, The general and great Council at Calcedon, anno 451, of five hundred and twenty prelates, in the relation of their transactions to St. Leo, says,† "For, if where two or three are assembled in his name, Christ has promised to be there in the midst of them; how much more especially was he with five hundred and twenty bishops, over whom you were set, as a head over the members, in those who represented your place."

They added concerning Dioscorus, the wicked bishop of Alexandria,‡ "Moreover, he let his madness even loose against him, who was by our Saviour intrusted

* Anno 858.

† In relatione ad Leonem Papam. T. 4. Conc. Lab. p. 834. D. E.

‡ Page 835. A. B.

with the care of the vineyard, that is, against your holiness."

They conclude in this manner:* "We desire you to honor our judgment with your decrees; and as we have justly agreed with our head, so may your highness grant to us, your children, that which is fitting."

These words show us what the oriental bishops, assembled at Constantinople, anno 382, which was the year after the second general Council, meant, when writing to the western bishops, and chiefly to Pope Damasus, they thanked him † for calling them, as his own members, to the Council then held at Rome; and why Pope Damasus, in the inscription of his letter to them, calls them, twice, "his ‡ most honorable children."

They also give us the reason, why, in the general Council held at Ephesus, anno 431, no one in the Council contradicted the Pope's legate, when he called St. Peter, the § head of the apostles, Pope Celestin, who was then at Rome,‖ the head of the Council.

Secondly, Photius, in his letters to Pope Nicholas the first, as well as in his synods, is very zealous, that the seventh general Council, held at Nice, anno 787, may be esteemed, as indeed it is, of equal authority with the other six.

Now, in the second action of this Council, the letters of Pope Hadrian the first were read with applause; in which he affirms, that his see ¶ is the head of the

* Page 838. D. E. † Tom. 2. Conc. p. 962. C. D.
‡ Ibid. p. 866. E. p. *67. D. E. § Act. 3, p. 625. A. A. Tom. 3.
‖ Act. 2. p. 620. B. ¶ Epist. ad Taras. T. 7. Conc. p. 125. D. E.

whole Church. That it has * a distinguishing primacy over the earth, and is the head of the whole Church of God. So that St.† Peter always was and is still supreme.

Thirdly, Dr.‡ Heylin confesses that the bishops of Rome, from Pope Boniface the third, anno 606, have challenged a supremacy over all the Church. This indeed is true, but he dates the supremacy too low. For Pope Boniface never pretended to a more extensive power, than he had practiced, who wrote with so much zeal against the title œcumenical patriarch; I mean his next predecessor, but one, the humble St. Gregory, who died in the year 604, and whom Dr. Barrow calls § a prudent, meek, and holy man.

However Doctor Heylin's account shows sufficiently, that the Greeks had submitted to the Pope's supremacy, long before their separation from Rome. For Photius's schism began not till after the year 860; that is, not till above two hundred and fifty years after the death of Pope Boniface III. So that the Greeks, even in the Protestant system, had communicated with the Pope, as head of the Church, above two hundred and fifty years before their schism. And during this time, the Greeks and Latins had met in the sixth and seventh general Councils: in the sixth at Constantinople, anno 680, and in the seventh at Nice, anno 787, when the Pope, according to Dr. Heylin, had assumed a supremacy over the whole Church, above a hundred and fourscore years. Yet of this the Greeks make no com-

* Epist. ad Taras. T. 7. Conc. p. 125. D. E. † Ibid.
‡ Cosmogr. Lib. 1. page 91. § Superemacy, page 18.

plaints, either in the said general Councils, or in the eighth which was held against Photius at Constantinople, anno 869.

Fourthly, As no reformer was ever more versed in antiquity than Photius, so no one had ever a greater spleen against the Pope, than he. We might therefore reasonably expect, if what our adversaries tell us be true, that the supremacy of the Roman see is manifest usurpation, without any ground in antiquity, that it was the chief cause of Photius's schism. But it was so far from being the chief cause of the rupture, that it had no influence at all upon it. Later Greeks indeed, deny the Pope's supremacy, for when will rebels own the authority from which they revolt? but neither Photius nor Cerularius excepted against it, in any of all the trifling objections, by which they endeavored to justify their reformation.

Photius, in a circular * letter to the eastern patriarchs, anno 866, to draw them into schism with him, accuses the Latins of these five errors, as he calls them:

1st, That they fast on Saturdays.

2dly, That they eat milk, cheese, and butter, in the first week of Lent.

3dly, That with them married men, after they have received holy orders, are not permitted to use their wives. Photius says, they affronted the Greeks for having a contrary discipline; but this was his fiction only.

4thly, That their bishops re-anoint those who had been confirmed by priests.

* Apud Baron. ad an. 863, § 34, &c.

5thly, That they have corrupted the creed, by saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

Cerularius attempted to renew the schism, anno 1053, by a * letter, written in his own name, and in that of the Archbishop of Bulgaria, to the Bishop of Trani in Apulia. In this, to remove from himself the guilt, he charges the Latins with these four errors:

1st, That in consecrating the blessed sacrament, they make use of unleavened bread.

2dly, That they fast on the Saturdays in Lent.

3dly, That they eat the blood of beasts, and of things strangled.

4thly, That they do not sing Allelujah in Lent.

Soon after, writing to † Peter, the Patriarch of Antioch, he carried on his accusation to the following articles:

1st, That they consecrate unleavened bread.

2dly, That they eat things strangled.

3dly, That they shave their beards

4thly, That they fast on Saturdays.

5thly, That they eat unclean things.

6thly, That their monks eat flesh and bacon.

7thly, That they do not keep the first and last week of Lent, as the Greeks do.

8thly, That they say in the creed, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

9thly, That in the Mass they utter some words aloud, which the Greeks do not.

* Apud Baron. an. 1053, § 23, &c. † Ibid. anno 1054, § 28, &c.

10thly, That their priests are not permitted the use of marriage.

11thly, That two brothers marry two sisters.

12thly, That, at the communion, in the Mass, they give the pax.

13thly, That their bishops wear rings, and that they fight in the wars.

14thly, That they baptize with one immersion only, and make use of salt.

15thly, That instead of saying with St. Paul, * "a little leaven leavens the whole heap," they say, "a little leaven corrupts the whole heap."

16thly, That some of them do not honor the relics of saints, nor holy images.

17thly, That among the saints they do not reckon St. Basil and St. Chrysostom; nor do they allow their doctrine.

When Cerularius wrote this, the bishops of Rome had, in the Protestant system, challenged a supremacy over the whole Church, above four hundred and forty years. Why then was not this mentioned, if it was, what our adversaries take it to be, a groundless and wicked usurpation, against the right of all Christian bishops? Had the Greeks no regard to their greatest and dearest privileges? were not four centuries and a half sufficient to awaken their concern? and was not the Pope's supremacy, if illegal and tyrannical, as forcible an argument to separate the eastern patriarchs from communion with Rome, as that the Latins shave their beards; that their bishops wear rings, and that they

* 1 Cor. v., 6.

give the pax; that they do not dip a child thrice in baptism, and that they put salt into its mouth; that their monks eat bacon; that they speak some words aloud in the Mass, which the Greeks whisper; that they fasted on Saturdays; that they keep not Lent so strictly as the Greeks do; that they have a different reading; * that they have too little respect for relics, for holy images, and for the saints themselves, as St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; or that they eat larks? I say, if Cerularius had been a Protestant, and had written to men of Protestant principles, would he not have insisted on the Antichristian doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, rather than on those trifles?

And I cannot but observe, that both he and Photius were fairly put in mind of the supremacy. Pope Nicolas the first, writing to Photius before the schism, on the 18th of March, anno 861–2, tells him, "That † all the faithful have recourse to the holy Roman see, which is the head of the whole Church." ‡ And a little after, "For it is evident," says he, "that the holy Roman see is by St. Peter, prince of the apostles, who received his primacy from the mouth of Christ, the head of the whole Church.

Cerularius had scarcely sent his peevish letter to the Bishop of Trani, when the affairs of the Greek empire obliged him to write a submissive letter to Pope Leo IX. In which, however, he has this expression, "That if one Church, to wit, that of Rome, will communicate

* 1 Cor. v., 6.

† Nic. 1. Epist. vi. Tom. viii. Conc. Labb. page 283. C.

‡ Ibid. D.

with me, I will take care that the universal Church shall communicate with the Pope.

To this the Pope answered,* "What a monstrous saying is this? Has the Roman Church, which is the head and Mother of Churches, no members, no daughters? How then can she be called a head, or a mother? The Roman Church is so far from being alone, or, as you think, one, that what part of the world soever dissents proudly from her, is not to be called a Church, but no Church at all, being rather a mock assembly of heretics, a conventicle of schismatics, and a synagogue of Satan." This letter of the Pope was dated in January, anno 1053–4.

In a letter, written at the same time, to the Greek emperor, he tells him, "That† Rome is the head of the Church, to which the voice of Christ gave a pre-eminence above all the rest, which the subsequent piety of the Church, and the unanimous consent of the holy fathers has at all times hitherto seconded."

Cerularius, in his letter above quoted to Peter the Patriarch of Antioch, mentions the legates, by whom these letters were sent. Which shows that they were delivered at Constantinople, before the letter was written.

These two facts therefore are certain. 1st, That the Greeks, long before their schism, owned the Pope's supremacy. 2dly, That they had no thoughts of calling it in question when their schism first began.

* Leo IX. Epist. vi. ad Mich. Cerularium. Tom. ix. Conc. Labb., page 980. C. † Leo IX. Epist. vii., page 981. E.

QUESTION XIII.

Did the Bishops of Rome, before Boniface the third, challenge a supremacy in spirituals over the whole Church?

Answer. THEY did. For Dr. Heylin's * system in this is not defensible. He grants that Pope Boniface III., anno 606, and all his successors after him, have asserted this supremacy, but denies it of all his predecessors. But if the great and general Council of Chalcedon acknowledged it, anno 451, in the bishop of Rome, as we have seen in the last question, it is certain that the bishops of that see challenged that privilege long before Pope Boniface the third.

II. At present I shall instance only in these: In St. Boniface the first, in St. Celestin the first, in the great St. Leo, in Gelasius, in Anastatius the second, in Symmachus, in Hormisdas, in Boniface the second, in John the second, in Pelagius the second, and in St. Gregory the Great.

III. 1st, St. Boniface the first, writing to the bishops of Thessalia, anno 422, which was the last of his pontificate, says, "That † Christ gave all things to St. Peter; and that it is certain, that the Roman see is the head of the whole Church, from which see whoever separates himself, bids adieu to Christianity, by entering into another communion." He adds that the Roman see, by reason of its supremacy, has a power to receive and redress all just complaints.

* 1 Chronol. L. 1, p. 91.

† T. 4. Conc. Lab., page 1706. E. Vide page 1705. C.

2dly, St. Celestin, his successor, affirms, "that* the bishops of Rome are obliged in particular to take care of all the faithful, because Christ laid upon them, in St. Peter, when he gave him the keys to bind and loose, a necessity of examining the causes of all the faithful."

3dly, St. Leo the great says,† "That Rome is, by being St. Peter's see, made the head of the world; and that she has now more subjects than ever she had before by all her conquests."

So writing to Theodoret, on the 10th of June, anno 453, whom the false synod at Ephesus, anno 449, had deposed and excommunicated; he congratulates with him, that in restoring him to communion and to his bishopric, the Council of Chalcedon had confirmed the judgment of the Roman and ‡ first see; so that in this, too, the members might agree with her head.

And before this, in a letter to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, anno 446, whom he had made his deputy, "to help him in the care which we owe," says § he, "to all Churches, principally by Christ's institution."

He observes, "That‖ among the apostles themselves, under the like honor, there was a certain difference of power; and though they were all equally chosen, yet one had the pre-eminence given him above the rest. Hence came the distinction of bishops. And it was

* In Epist. ad Perigenem, &c. Ibid., page 1710. E.

† Serm. 1. de SS. Petro & Paulo.

‡ Epist. 63. In Edit. Quesnel. 93. T. 3. Conc. Lab., p. 1345. C. D.

§ Epist. 84 (quæ est 12 a in Edit. Quesnelii) page 1382. E.

‖ Ibid., p. 1386. D.

rightly appointed, that all should not challenge a power over all, but that one in each province should have the first vote; and again, that some in the greater cities should have a more extensive charge, by whom the care of the whole Church might flow to the see of Peter only, so that no part should ever disagree from its head."

4. Gelasius says, "That the bishops of Rome, *by the authority of the see apostolic, have, without ceasing, a care of the whole flock of Christ; and that† this see is charged with a concern for all the others."

So writing to the emperor Anastasius, anno 494, when a great part of the oriental bishops was separated from Rome, partly by the Eutychian heresy, partly by asserting the honor of the deceased schismatic Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, he tells him, "That ‡if the hearts of the faithful ought in general to hearken to all prelates, who behave themselves as they ought in matters of religion, with how much greater reason ought they to agree with the bishop of that [the Roman] see, to whom God himself has given a pre-eminence over all other prelates, and whom the Church, by a subsequent and general devotion, has always owned as such?"

And in the following year, writing to the bishops of Dardania, he says,§ "The first see confirms every general Council, and is their perpetual guardian, by reason of its supremacy, which St. Peter, having re-

* Epist. v. ad Honorium Dalm. Episc. T. 4. Conc. p. 1172. A.
† Epist. vii. ad Episcopos per Picenum, page 1181. C.
‡ Ep. viii. p. 1182. E. See also page 1185. B.
§ Epist. 13. p. 1200. D.

ceived it from the mouth of Christ, and being seconded by the Church, has always held, and does hold at present."

Again,* "The whole Church," says he, "throughout the world knows, that St. Peter's see has a right of correcting the decrees of any other bishops. Since it belongs to this see to judge of the whole Church, and since no person, whether prince or bishop of any other see, can recall its decrees."

And in a general Council of seventy bishops at Rome, anno 494: † "The holy Roman, Catholic, and apostolic see, has the pre-eminence over all other sees, not by the decrees of any synod, but by the words of our Lord and Saviour, saying, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, &c." Where this pope only transcribes the words of the great ‡ Council at Rome, under Pope Damasus, anno 382.

And before the pontificate of Gelasius, anno 483, that is, in the first year of his predecessor St. Felix, when Hunerick, the Arian king of the Vandals, and the great persecutor of Catholics, commanded all the Catholic prelates of Africa to meet in a public conference at Rome, though he promised them no security for their persons, nor for their lives; St. Gelasius, archbishop of Carthage, told the king, that if he desired to know the faith of the Catholic Church, he would invite

*Epist. 13. page 1203. A. B.

† Ibid. p. 1261. E. Videsis epistolam synodi Rom. sub S. Felice, Gelasii predecessore. Ibid. p. 1226. B. C.

‡ Vide Baronium ad an. 382. § 19.

the foreign bishops to the conference, and * chiefly the bishop of Rome, who is the head of the whole Church: as St. Victor, bishop of Vite, in the Byzacene province, who was himself both an eye witness and a sufferer in this persecution tells us.

Pope Anastasius the second, who succeeded Gelasius, exhorts the emperor Anastasius, that † in me, the see of St. Peter, as it always has, may have the supremacy, which God has assigned it in the universal Church.

Pope Symmachus succeeded Anastasius the second. And the oriental Catholics, writing to him, an. 513, say: ‡ "Thou knowest the charity of Christ, who art daily taught, by thy holy doctor St. Peter, to feed, not by force, but voluntarily, the sheep of Christ intrusted to you over the whole habitable world:" who with the great doctor St. Paul, sayest to us thy subjects, "We do not command thy faith, but co-operate with joy."§

7. Pope Symmachus was succeeded by Hormisdas: who in the form of reconciliation, which he sent to Constantinople, for schismatics adhering to the memory of Acacius, obliged them to say, that ‖ they followed in all things the see apostolic, that is, the see of Rome, and maintained all its decrees. And to promise, that hereafter they would not mention those at the altar, who were separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, who did not agree with the see apostolic.

* Victor Vitensis. De Persecutione Vandal. Divione an. 1665, p. 29.
† Epist. 1. T. 4. Conc. p. 1278 CD.
‡ T. 4. Conc. p. 1305. A. Vide etiam p. 1310. B.
§ Cor. i., 24.
‖ T. 4. Conc. p. 1502. CD. & p. 1487. CD.

St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, writing to Hormisdas, anno 517, says, that * all the members of the whole Catholic Church are intrusted to his care.

And a Synod of the ancient Epirus, writing to the same Pope, calls him † the father of fathers, and the chief of bishops: as the abbots, and monks of the second Syria, call him ‡ the patriarch over the whole earth. Hence they humbly beg,§ that being the head of all, he would exert his zeal against the Eutychian heresy, and revenge the contempt of faith, the injury done to the Canons, and to the great Council of Chalcedon.

8. Stephen, the metropolitan of Larissa in Thessaly, which is a part of Illyricum, in a petition to Pope Boniface the second, acquaints him, that being unjustly treated by Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, he had appealed to Rome, and had told Epiphanius, that ‖ the authority of the see apostolic, which our blessed Saviour gave to the chief of his apostles, exceeds all the privileges of the holy sees. This petition was presented to Pope Boniface the second, in a synod at Rome, anno 531, by Theodosius, a Thessalian bishop, who tells the pope in the same synod, that ¶ though the bishops of Rome have a supremacy over the Church through the whole world, and though ecclesiastical causes are necessarily brought from all parts to this see alone; yet it has a special jurisdiction over the bishops of Illyricum.

* T. 4. Conc. page 1445. B.

† Patri Patrum,—ac Principi Episcoporum. Ibid. p. 1440. D.

‡ Page 1461. C. § P. 1462. A. B. Vide etiam pag. 1548 .CD.

‖ Ibid. p. 1696. E. ¶ Page 1699. BC.

9. Boniface the second was succeeded by John the second. The oriental schism, occasioned by Acacius, continued thirty-five years, from anno 484, under the Emperor Zeno and Pope Felix the second, to the year 519, under Pope Hormisdas, and the oriental Emperor Justin, to whom Justinian succeeded, anno 527. This emperor, writing to Pope John the second, anno 533, confesses that the Pope is * the head of the whole Church: and says, that † he, the emperor, has endeavored to subject and unite all the oriental schismatics to the Roman see.

10. Pope Pelagius the second, writing to the schismatical bishops of Istria, alleges against them these words of St. ‡ Cyprian, the primacy, or supremacy, is given to St. Peter, that the Church of Christ, as well as the see, may be shown to be one. Does he believe he has faith who holds not the unity of the Church? Does he think himself in the Church, who forsakes and resists the see of St. Peter, upon which see the Church is founded?

Betwixt John the second and Pelagius the second, there were six popes. One of these was Silverius, who, by the power of the wicked empress, Theodora, was banished to Patara, a city of Lycia. § When the Pope came to Patara, the venerable bishop of that city went to the Emperor Justinian, and desired God to judge of the expulsion of so great a prelate, saying, "There

* Ib., p. 1743. BC.

† Ib., 1743. AB. Vide p. 1745. AB. p. 1746. E. p. 1802. D.

‡ T. 5. Conc. p. 946. E. 947. A.

§ Liber. in Breviar. Cap. xxii. T. 5. Conc. p. 775. E.

are many kings in this world, but not one like him in banishment, who is Pope over the Church of the whole world," says Liberatus a deacon of Carthage, who wrote at the same time, in his abridgment of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresy.

11. Pope Pelagius the second had for his successor St. Gregory the first, called the Great, and the apostle of England. He sat in St. Peter's chair thirteen years, six months, and ten days, from the year of Christ 590 to 604, and was the first who assumed the humble title of Servus Servorum Dei, "Servant of the servants of God." * "The more evident it is," says he, "that the see apostolic has from God a pre-eminence over all other sees; the more solicitous I am, amongst many other cares, when my consent is desired for the consecration of a bishop." Thus St. Gregory.

Again, † "As to what they say of the see of Constantinople, who doubts but that it is subject to the apostolic see? as both the emperor and the bishop of that see constantly own," says St. Gregory, in a letter to John bishop of Syracuse.

And writing to the same bishop concerning the Byzacene primate in Africa: ‡ "Whereas he owns himself subject to the see apostolic, when bishops commit a fault, I know not what bishop is not subject to it. But when there is no fault to be punished, by way of humility, all are equal: for in this sense the bishop and his flock are equal; or rather, he ought to be the more

* L. 2. Epist. 30, ad Joan. subdiaconum. Tom. 5. Conc. p. 1114. E.

† L. 7. Epist. 64, p. 1348. D.

‡ L. 7. Epist. 65, p. 1349. AB.

humble of the two." In this sense, if we believe St. Gregory,* St. Paul thought the Corinthians equal to himself.

Again, in a letter to Eusebius, Urbicius, and other bishops invited to Constantinople, he tells them, that if anything be there concluded in a synod,† it will be of no force unless the see of Rome consents to it.

Among the instructions which St. Gregory gave to his warden going into Spain, one relates to a bishop called Stephen, condemned by a synod of prelates, to whom he was not subject; his words are these,‡ "If it be said, that the bishop has neither a metropolitan nor a patriarch, this cause ought to have been heard and decided by the see apostolic, which is the head of the whole Church, as the bishop above mentioned is also known to have desired."

St. Gregory also asserted his supremacy in fact when he gave to his disciple St. Augustine, the first Bishop of Canterbury, § jurisdiction over all the British bishops then residing in Wales.

What the Bishop of Ravenna answered, whom St. Gregory had reprehended for wearing the Pallium at undue times, is a farther confirmation of it. ‖ "I reflect," says he, "that I was bred up in Rome. And how should I presume to oppose that most holy see, which prescribes laws to the universal Church."

II. It may be objected, that when the Bishops of Con-

* L. 1. Epist. 24, p. 1044. CD. † L. 7. Ep. 70, p. 1352, E.
‡ Lib. xi. Ep. 56, p. 1543. BC. § L. 12. Ep. 15, p. 1558. E.
‖ Joannes Ravennas Episc. inter Epist. St. Greg. L. 2. Epist. 55, page 1129. DE.

stantinople, John the younger, surnamed the Faster, and his successor Cyriacus, assumed the title of œcumenical patriarch, which St. Gregory calls universal bishop, he inveighed against it, as a most * wicked title.

Answer. This is very true, but not at all to the purpose. Œcumenical patriarch, which St. Gregory calls universal patriarch and universal bishop, is, as he understood the word, the same as the only patriarch, the only bishop; or the bishop to whom all other bishops are subject as his deputies, and vicars only. In which sense it agrees with Christ alone, and cannot without blasphemy be applied to any other, much less to the bishops of Constantinople, who never claimed any jurisdiction over the Roman see.

That St. Gregory understood the title of œcumenical patriarch in the sense now mentioned, is plain from his own words. † "If one," says he, "be called universal patriarch, the name of patriarch is taken from all the rest.

"So ‡ my brother and fellow bishop, John, endeavors to be called the only bishop."

"And § you, who thought yourself unworthy to be called a bishop, are at length come to this, that in contempt of your brethren, you desire to be called the only bishop."

Again, ‖ "Whoever desires," says he, "to be called

* L. 4. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. L. 6. Ep. 4., 24, 28, 30, 31. Lib. 7. Part. 1. Ep. 30. Part. 2. Ep. 70. L. xi. Ep. 47. Vet. Edit. T. 5. Conc., p. 1181, &c.

† L. 4. Ep. 36, p. 1187. DE.

‡ L. 4. Ep. 34, p. 1189. AB.

§ L. 4. Ep. 38, p. 1191. AB.

‖ L. 6. Ep. 30, p. 1276. BC.

the only bishop, extolls himself above all other bishops."

And writing to Eusebius and other prelates, * "If one, as he thinks, is universal, it remains that you are no bishops."

The title therefore of œcumenical patriarch, in the bishops of Constantinople, as St. Gregory understood it, was a proud, blasphemous, heretical, antichristian, and diabolical title. And so his predecessor, Pelagius the second, had also understood it. But, as Monsieur Du Pin rightly observes, the bishops of Constantinople meant it in an innocent sense. "John of Cappadocia," says † he, "called the Faster, was one of great piety and charity. He was sharply reproved by St. Gregory for taking upon him the name of œcumenical patriarch, because this Pope looked upon this title as a sign of ambition, although in the sense of the Greeks it was innocent, and signified nothing less than St. Gregory thought."

And here I cannot but observe three or four things.

The first is, that since Gregory was so very zealous against the bare appearance or shadow of usurpation in the Bishop of Constantinople, he would have been far enough from assuming a supremacy over all other bishops, as he certainly did, if it had not been the undoubted privilege of his see.

The second is, that Catholic, œcumenical, and universal, if we merely regard their original signification, are equivalent terms. If so, there is a sense in which

* L. 7. Part. 2. Ep. 70, p. 1352. DE.

† Sixth Century. London, 1693. Page 67.

every Catholic is an universal Christian, that is a Christian of the universal Church, and every Catholic bishop is an universal bishop, that is a bishop of the universal Church. And if the bishops of Constantinople, who never pretended to have any jurisdiction or precedency over Rome, by assuming the title of œcumenical patriarchs, meant only this, that Constantinople had a jurisdiction over all the other patriarchal sees in the east, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, although the popes in St. Gregory's time had never confirmed this privilege or claim, yet there was nothing either of heresy or of blasphemy in it. The general Council at Constantinople,* anno 381,† and that at Chalcedon,‡ anno 451,§ gave to the see of Constantinople a precedency of‖ honor before the other patriarchs of the east. Which the bishops of Constantinople practiced, even with regard to¶ jurisdiction, but without the consent of Rome. For St. Leo** told Anatolius, that the see of Rome had not received the canons of the second general Council; and St. Gregory affirms the same, writing to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, and to Anastasius of Antioch. ††"The see of Rome," says St. Gregory, "has not hitherto had, nor does it receive those canons." As to the 28th canon of Chalcedon, the Pope's legates

* T. 2. Conc. Labb., p. 947. C.
† Can. 3.
‡ T. 4. Conc., p. 769. AD.
§ Can. 28.
‖ Mons. Tillemont. T. 9, p. 490. Tom. 15, p. 709.
¶ Tillem. Tom. 15, p. 702. Art. 127.
** Ep. 53. T. 4. Conc., p. 845. CD.
†† Ep. 31. Lib. 6. T. 5. Conc., p. 1277. B.

openly * protested against it, as St. Leo † did also afterwards. Pope Innocent the third, in the fourth Lateran ‡ Council, anno 1215, § granted to Constantinople a precedency of honor before the other eastern patriarchs.

The third thing to be observed is, that the title of œcumenical patriarch both had been given to the bishops of Constantinople before John the younger, anno 586, and was given to them after Cyriacus. The ‖ clergy and monks of Antioch, as well as the ¶ clergy of Constantinople, gave this title to John the elder, anno 518. And in the Council at Constantinople, anno 536, it is given ** at every turn to Menas, bishop of that see, whom Pope Agapetus had ordained. The Emperor Justinian does the same, in his †† Sanction to confirm this Council. This emperor, on other occasions, gives the title of œcumenical or universal patriarch to ‡‡ Epiphanius, §§ Anthemius, and ‖‖ Menas, bishops of Constantinople, as the Emperor Leo did also after him. I

* T. 4. Conc., p. 817. E.

† Ep. 53. T. 4. Conc., p. 844. C., &c. Ep. 54. Ibid., p. 847. C., &c. Ep. 55. Ibid., p. 850. B. Ep. 61, p. 882. D. Ep. 62, p. 884. B., &c.

‡ T. xi. Conc., p. 153. C.

§ Cap. 5.

‖ T. 5. Conc., p. 157. C.

¶ Ib., p. 161. E. Vide etiam, p. 177. A., p. 180. A—B—DE, p. 181. C—D, p. 185. AB—D—E, p. 212. D.

** T. 5. Conc., p. 46 E. p. 60 CD. p. 72 E. p. 81 E. p. 89 B. p. 97 CD. p. 253 AB.

†† Novella 42. T. 2. Juris civilis, p. 539. Amstelodami, anno 1681.

‡‡ In Co. L. 1. Tit. 1. § 7, p. 8. L. 1. Tit. 4, p. 36. Novella iii., p. 477. Nov. vii., p. 485.

§§ Nov. xvi., p. 502.

‖‖ Nov. lxxix., p. 569.

say, of universal patriarch, with regard to the eastern empire. A limitation which was always understood by the Greeks, when orthodox, and is sometimes expressed by the Emperor * Justinian.

In the acts of the seventh general Council, anno 787, the bishops of Constantinople are often called † œcumenical patriarchs. The Empress Irene had given the same title to Tarasius, Bishop of Constantinople, of which Pope ‡ Adrian the first complains.

The fourth and last thing to be observed is, that St. Gregory was not ignorant that this title might be given in an innocent manner to the bishops of Rome. In the third act of the Council of Chalcedon it is given to St. Leo, by § Theodorus, a deacon of Alexandria, by ‖ Ischyrion, a deacon of the same see, by ¶ Athanasius, a priest of Alexandria, and by ** Sophronius, a layman. Two of the legates of St. Leo, subscribing the Council of Chalcedon, call him †† bishop of the œcumenical Church; and the other legate ‡‡ bishop of the whole Church. In the Council at Constantinople under Menas, anno 536, the abbots and monks of §§ that city, of Jerusalem, and of Antioch, call Pope Agapetus œcumenical patriarch. ‖‖

Hence St. Gregory, writing to Eulogius, Bishop of

* Novel. 57, p. 551.

† T. 7. Conc., p. 132. A. B.—E. p. 133, A. p. 136 D—E. p. 145 B. C. p. 153 A. C. p. 161 C. p. 169 A. p. 188 A. E. p. 189 AD. p. 192 A. E. p. 193 CD. p. 197 A.

‡ Ibid., p. 117 E.

§ T. 4. Conc., p. 395 A.

‖ Page 399 AB.

¶ P. 406 D. p. 411 AB.

** Page 411 DE.

†† P. 579, 580 D. 581, 582 A.

‡‡ Page 579, 580 E.

§§ Tom. 5. Conc., p. 21 C.

‖‖ See also p. 1461 B. Tom. 4. Concil.

Alexandria, says that this title was * offered to his predecessors in the holy Council at Chalcedon, and by the fathers after it. But does St. Gregory accuse the fathers, or the Council of Chalcedon, which he † reverenced so much, either of heresy or of blasphemy? Far from it. Yet he supposes, that the giving of the title of œcumenical patriarch to St. Leo, was authorized by this Council. He tells the Emperor Mauritius, that ‡ in honor to St. Peter, the holy Council of Chalcedon offered this title to the Pope. He urges the same thing in § his letter to John the younger, and in a common letter to ‖ Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, and Anastasius of Antioch. So that, in a different sense, this title might be innocently condemned by St. Gregory, and be innocently given to his next successor but one: which the words of the Librarian Anastasius, in the life of Pope Boniface the third, probably imply. And it is from these words of Anastasius that the later historians have borrowed their accounts of that Pope.

III. The Emperor Leo, in a rescript to the prefect of the Prætorium, anno 476, registered by the Emperor Justinian, calls Constantinople the mother of all orthodox Christians. Not because she governed them all in spirituals, but because she was then the most able to help and succor them all in the concerns of this life. Constantinople, when called Byzantium, that is, till the year of Christ 330, was under the Bishop of Heraclea,

* Epist. 30. Tom. 5. Conc., p. 1308. C.

† Epist. 24. ad Joannem. Episc. Constantinopolitanum, Eulogium Alexandrinum, &c., p. 1045. E. ‡ L. 4. Epist. 32, p. 1182. C. D.

§ Lib. 4. Ep. 38, p. 1192. D. ‖ Lib. 4. Ep. 36, p. 1187. DE.

as her metropolitan; and, whilst a Catholic city, never pretended to any jurisdiction or pre-eminence over Rome. Hence the oriental emperor, Justinian, says, * "No one doubts but the highest point of episcopacy belongs to old Rome." "And I decree," says he, † "according to the definitions of the four Councils, at Nice, at Constantinople, at Ephesus, and at Chalcedon, that the Pope of Rome has the first place amongst all bishops, and that the see of Constantinople has the second." Nothing then is more certain, than that when Justinian said, that ‡ Constantinople was the head of all other Churches, his meaning was only this, that all the chief Churches of the oriental empire were subject to Constantinople, in the opinion of this emperor. For, though the Pope did not consent to this change of the ancient discipline in favor of Constantinople, yet the bishops of Alexandria, of Antioch, and all the oriental prelates did. And as these were the only persons concerned, the Greeks imagined that the Pope's consent was not necessary.

QUESTION XIV.

Are the modern Greeks the Catholic Church?

Answer. THEY are not. My reason is, because they are not in communion with the Bishop of Rome, St. Peter's successor, whom the Catholic Church has always owned to be her head by divine institution. Be pleased

* Tom. 2, p. 496. † Novella, 131, p. 630.
‡ Co. D. 1. Tit. 2. § 24, p. 15.

to read the treatise of supremacy, in the second volume of the True Church of Christ, against Mr. Lesley, anno 1715.

II. Christ said to St. Peter, without exception, * "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." Either then the other apostles were not any part of Christ's flock, or they were committed to St. Peter's charge.

Again, If Christ had said to his apostles, "Upon you I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," we might have rightly concluded from thence, that the apostles were the vicars of Christ, and had a superior jurisdiction to all Christian pastors.

But Christ said to St. Peter, "Thou art Cephas," that is, a stone, a rock, † or, "Thou art Peter. and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." ‡ For it is the same as if he had said, Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church, &c. Which evidently denotes St. Peter's person, as Dr. Hammond, a divine of the Church of England, rightly observes.

His paraphrase on the text is, § "The name by which thou art styled, and known by me, is that which signifies a stone or rock, and such shalt thou be in the building of the Church, which accordingly shall be so built on thee, founded in thee, that the power of death, of the grave, shall not get victory over it; the Christian Church now to be planted shall never be destroyed."

And in his note ‖ on the same text, "The name," says

* St. John xxi., 15, 16, 17. † St. John, i., 42.
‡ St. Mat. xvi., 18. § Paraph. on th N. T., p. 89. 1653.
‖ Page 91, col. 1.

he, "signifying a stone here, such an one as, for the firmness and validity, is fit to bear the greatest stress and weight in the building, is applicable to the person of St. Peter, with respect to the Church."

In the same manner Bishop Pearson, "When Peter," says * he, "had converted three thousand souls, † which were added to the hundred and twenty disciples, ‡ then was there a Church, and that built upon Peter, according to our Saviour's promise."

III. And if Christ instituted that form of Church government, which was to continue in after ages, we cannot doubt but as St. Peter was, under Christ, the head of the visible Church, as long as he lived, so his successors have been since his death, and will continue to the end of the world. In the middle of the third age, when Rome had received no privileges from any Christian emperor, St. Cyprian called it § the chair of Peter, and the principal Church, from which the unity of priesthood is risen; or the centre of Christian unity." And a spiritual supremacy is nothing else.

IV. But was not the Greek Church, at her separation from Rome in the ninth or in the eleventh age, in communion with the four eastern patriarchs, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Jerusalem: was she not then the main body of Christians?

I answer, The schism in both cases began at Constantinople; and when complete involved the other eastern patriarchs. But it does not appear that the Greek

* Exposition of the Creed, p. 336. Edit. 4. anno 1676.
† Acts ii., 41. ‡ Acts i., 15.
§ St. Cypr. Epist. lv. ad Cornelium.

Church was then the most numerous society of Christians; and, being separated from the head or root, it is plain that it was not the Catholic Church. Branches, when cut off, may be greater than the stem, but their bulk deceives no one. Every child will tell you which is, which is not the tree. The Catholic Church in fact has always been more numerous than any one society or communion of Christians besides. But though she were not, she would be known infallibly by this mark; that she is, and always was, the Church of all nations, at least in a limited sense, and that she adheres to the head instituted by Christ.

V. The Greek Church, how large and populous soever she had been formerly, was extremely reduced and lessened before the schism.

First, by the Turks, who had destroyed or perverted the greatest part of it. Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, with the patriarchal sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were subject to them. So was all Arabia, Persia, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, and Africa. Jerusalem was taken by the Persians, anno 614. Antioch, now a small village, was taken by the Turks, anno 638. Alexandria, anno 640, above two hundred years before Photius's schism, and have continued, without any great interruption, in the same slavery ever since. Constantinople stood out the longest, but is now the head of the Turkish empire, and shows us how great a desolation there is of religion, wherever those infidels prevail. The laity is thin, and the clergy titular. Constantinople had formerly six or seven hundred bishops, now only about a hundred and fifty under it, and thirty-five

of these are titular archbishops, without any suffragans, as a late Greek * writer observes. Africa is another instance, in what a prodigious manner Christianity suffers from the Mahometans. Carthage, and what the Roman emperors possessed in Africa, was taken by the Mahometans, anno 696. And by the middle of the eleventh century, there were † scarce five bishops left in the whole country. Constantinople was taken by the Turkish emperor, Mahomet the second, anno 1453, on the 29th day of May, which was Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, Constantine, the seventy-fourth Greek emperor, being killed in the siege, in whose person the Greek empire ended—after it had stood one thousand one hundred and twenty-three years.

Secondly, Another considerable abatement of the Greek Church was the great number of Nestorians, Eutychians, and Semi-Eutychians, separated from her communion, though dwelling in the same countries and cities. Nestorians infested Syria; Eutychians and Semi-Eutychians, Egypt, and the two Armenias.

Nestorians are so numerous in Syria, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, Persia, Tartary, and India, that Dr. Heylin says,‡ they are the greatest sect of Christians in all the east. And a later historian, the greatest part, says § he, of the Christians in the eastern parts, are of this sect. Which is reckoned to comprehend no less

* Christ. Angelus. Frankfort, an. 1655.

† Audimus quinq; vix Episcopos superesse in tota Africa, inquit Leo nonus papa, Epist. 3. Tom. ix., Concil. p. 272. AB.

‡ Cosmogr. Lib. 3. p. 116. col. 1.

§ Moll's Geography. Part. 2. p. 43. Col. 1. Edit. 4. an. 1722.

than* three hundred thousand families. Their patriarch resides at Moussul, a city in Diarbeck, or Mesopotamia.

Eutychians have their Churches in Asia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Nubia, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Their number is reckoned differently. Dr. Heylin says,† it was computed formerly, at a hundred and sixty thousand families, now reduced to fifty thousand. Moll's geography says,‡ they are thought to be near a hundred thousand families. Their patriarch takes his title from Antioch, but now resides at Amida, called by the natives Carahmet, or Car-Emit. He has under him, several archbishops, as that of Jerusalem, of Moussul, of Damascus, of Edessa, of Cyprus, and a great number of monks.

Semi-Eutychians are chiefly spread in the greater and lesser Armenia, in Mesopotamia, Caramania, and Persia. "The Church of this sect," says Dr.§ Heylin, "is governed by two patriarchs, whereof the one has under his jurisdiction Turcomania, the Greater Armenia, &c., comprehending a hundred and fifty thousand families, besides very many monasteries: the other has under him the two provinces of Armenia the Lesser, and Cilicia; comprehending twenty thousand families, or thereabouts. The first now resides at Ermeazin, a monastery near the city of Ervan, in Persia—the second, at Cis, a small city, not far from Tarsus, in Cilicia."

The Armenian bishop or patriarch at Constantinople, is subject to the first, and those at Jerusalem and Aleppo, to the latter.

* Perpetuité. T. 1. p. 112. an. 1670.

† Cosmogr. p. 118. ‡ Part. 2. p. 41. col. 2. § Cosmog. p. 126, 127.

The first, if a late Armenian bishop may be believed, has about two hundred bishops under him, the latter about fifty.

VI. As to the Church of England, she cannot suppose the Greeks to be the Catholic Church, unless she will drop the greatest part of her accusations against popery, will reform her 39 articles, and even her creed, and will grant herself to be a schismatical Church.

First, She must confess, that almost all her articles against popery are false. She must pray to the saints, as the Greeks do, and particularly to the blessed Virgin Mary. She must profess, as the Greeks do, seven sacraments. She must give a veneration, or relative worship, as the Greeks do, to the cross, to the images of Christ, and to those of the saints. She must receive, as the Greeks do, the seventh general Council, which was the second at Nice, anno 787, by which this doctrine was * defined. She must, as the Greeks do, pay a due veneration to the relics of saints. She must pray, as the Greeks do, for those who die in her communion, and offer sacrifice, as the Greeks do, both for the living and the dead. She must hold, with the Greeks, that apostolical traditions, unwritten, ought to be received, and that they are of equal authority with the written word of God; not to mention several other points.

Secondly, She must therefore extremely reform her 39 articles, and even her creed. For the chief ground of schism in the Greek Church, was her holding, that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father and the Son, but from the Father only, or at least, that this

* Act. 7. Tom. 7. Conc. p. 556. CE.

proceeding from the Son ought not to be inserted into the creed. But in this, the Latin Church had so much the advantage that even the Church of England thought fit to join with her.

In the fifth of her 39 articles, the Church of England says, the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son.

Again, in the 8th article, she says, the three creeds, the Nicene creed, the Athanasius's creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received, and believed, for they may be approved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

In the Nicene creed, which is ordered to be said or sung at the communion, she says, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son.

In the creed of St. Athanasius, which is commanded to be sung or said on Christmas-day, the Epiphany, Easter-day, Ascension-day, Whit-Sunday, Trinity-Sunday, and other festivals, she says, the Son is of the Father alone, &c. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son, not begotten but proceeding.

Thirdly, If the Church of England thinks the Greeks to be the Catholic Church, she must not only lay aside the greatest part of her exceptions against popery, and reform her 39 articles, and even her creed, but what is still worse, she must, necessarily, grant herself to be a schismatical Church. For nothing under the sun, is plainer, than that she is not in the Greek communion; and that she cannot be there, without reforming her

faith, her creed, and the darling principles of the reformation, to which she is not yet inclined.

QUESTION XV.

*Is not the Church of Rome the great whore in the Apocalypse?**

Answer, It has been already shown, that † the Catholic Church is always in being, from our blessed Saviour, to the end of the world; that ‡ in all this time, it is a visible and known society, and that § it is always orthodox. Either then you must show me, that there is another Church in the world, to which the three properties, now mentioned belong, or you must grant, that Christian Rome, is not the Babylon, whose wickedness and overthrow St. John ‖ describes. For, if the Church in communion with Rome, be the Catholic Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, how can Christian Rome, which is joined in faith and communion with her, be "the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth, drunk with the blood of saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus, in whose overthrow the saints rejoiced?"

II. It is true, all heresies, from the beginning, have been condemned by the Church of Rome, as the Simonians, Gnostics, Corinthians, Nicolaites, Ebionites, Saturninians, Carpocratians, Valentinians, Marcionites,

* Chap. xvii., 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 18. † Chap. 3. Quest., 3. pag. 135.
‡ Chap. 3. Quest. 4., pag. 137. § Chap. 3. Quest. 5. pag. 140.
‖ Apoc. xvii., 5, 6. Apoc. xviii., 2, 21. Apoc. xix., 2.

Encratites, Montanists, Novatians, Sabellians, Manichæans, Donatists, Arians, Macedonians, Apolinarians, Priscilianists, Pelagians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Iconoclasts, modern Greeks, Berengarians, Vaudois, Wickleffites, Calixtines, and the rest. And as the Church of Rome has condemned all heresies, so all heresies whatever in their respective times, have judged themselves to be a necessary reformation of the Church of God, and have condemned the Church of Rome, of great and grievous errors. They have all esteemed her to be the mother of corruptions, and abominations of the earth, and in a spiritual sense, drunk with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus. The Manichæans might account her literally guilty of their blood. For by an imperial law of the great Theodosius, anno 382, they were sentenced * to death, and orders were given that a diligent search should be made after them.

But if a few ancient heretics called Rome the great whore, mentioned in the Apocalypse, the reason of this was not because they did not hate her as heartily as any have done since the eleventh century, but either because former heretics were less impudent than those, who have appeared since, or because it seemed manifest to antiquity, that St. John, under the name of Babylon, did not describe a Christian city.

III. But it is not so easy to determine what he meant by Babylon, as it is to show what is not meant by it. The proofs already mentioned † from the scrip-

* In Cod. Theodos. Lib. xvi. Tit. v., Lege ix. Lugduni, anno 1665, pag. 124.

† Chap. 3. Quest. 3, 4, 5.

ture, and from the creed, concerning the perpetual visibility and orthodoxy of the Catholic Church, show sufficiently, what the name of Babylon, in the Apocalypse, does not signify, that it does not signify Christian Rome, such as it is at present, or the Church and see of Rome.

IV. But if you ask farther, what then did St. John understand by Babylon, in the Apocalypse? This is one of those inquiries, in which Catholic faith is not concerned. And perhaps the reader may be content to know what learned men have thought of it.

The first opinion is that of two learned Protestants, Grotius and Dr. Hammond, who think that St. John, under the emblem of Babylon, represents heathen Rome, such as it was in his time, when it worshipped false gods and goddesses, Jupiter, Venus, Bacchus, Mars, the sun, the moon, even Rome herself, and other pagan deities; when she was drunk with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.* In this sense St. Peter sat in Rome, and Nero sat in Babylon. St. Paul writing to the Romans, anno Christ 58, writes to the Roman Church, and congratulates with her, that her † faith is renowned over the whole world. But heathen Rome was the great whore, sitting on a scarlet colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having a golden cup in her hand, full of the abominations and filthiness of her fornication; and upon her forehead was a name written, "Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth."‡ She was soon after to be, in ten or more

* Apoc. xvii., 6. † Rom. i., 8. ‡ Apoc. xvii., 3, 4, 5.

bloody persecutions, "drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus."* In the first of these persecutions, which was that of Nero, St. Peter and St. Paul were put to death at Rome. And after the second, which was that of Domitian, St. John wrote the Apocalypse. For Babylon, the great whore persecuted the Roman Church three hundred years, and was at last conquered and converted by it. Babylon then, in the Apocalypse, is so far from being the Church of Rome, that it was by the faith of the Roman Church, and by the Church of Rome, that Babylon was destroyed. St. Peter uses the word in the same sense. For by Babylon he understands heathen Rome; but then he evidently distinguishes the Roman Church from it.† "The co-elect Church," says he, "which is in Babylon, salutes you."‡

Hence Dr. Hammond, a Protestant interpreter, observes, that the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first chapters of the Apocalypse, are a congratulation with the Roman Church for her victory over Babylon and heathen Rome.§ "After these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluiah, &c." He says, "This vision looked especially on the heathen religion destroyed in Rome, and exchanged for the Christian."‖ "I heard as it were the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluiah." "This voice," says Dr. Hammond, "is the acclamation of all the nations, that is, Christian people in them, over all the world, thundering out Alleluiahs to God, for this illus-

* V. 6. † 1 Pet. v., 13. ‡ 1 Pet. v., 13.
§ Paraphrase on the xixth Chapter, v. 1. p. 993, 994. ‖ V. 6.

trious enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, the conversion of that imperial city to Christianity; which is, as it were,* the marriage of Christ to a lovely spouse, his Church. And an angel bid me† take notice of this, as of the blessedest, happiest change, that ever was wrought in the world."

"So that the sum," says Dr. Hammond,‡ "of this fall of Babylon, is the destruction of the wicked and heathen Rome, and preserving of the pure and Christian Rome, and so in effect the bringing of that city and empire to Christianity."

V. The second opinion is, that Babylon, in the Apocalypse, is New Rome or Constantinople, head of the Turkish empire, and that this is hereafter to be destroyed by ten of its confederate princes. Dr. Heylin, in his Cosmography,§ is inclined to this opinion. "Constantinople," says he, "is situated on seven mountains, most of them crowned with magnificent mosques.—On the first whereof stands the ruins of Constantine's palace. On the second a fair Turkish mosque. On the third stands a stately mosque. On the fourth and fifth the sepultures of Selim the first and Bajazet the second. On the sixth the mosque and sepulchre of Solyman the magnificent, numbered amongst the present wonders of the world. And on the seventh the temple of St. Sophia and the Turkish seraglio. In which respect it is called the seven-hilled city, by Nicetas, and by Paulus Diaconus, and so acknowledged to be by Janus Dousa, Phineas Morison, G. Sandys, and others of our modern travelers, eye-witnesses of it. So that if there be any

*V. 7. 8. †V. 9. ‡Page 992. §Lib. 2, page 207.

mystery in the number Seven, or that the sitting of the great whore on a seven-headed beast be an assured direction to find out the Anti-Christ, we may as well look for him in Constantinople, or Nova Roma, where the great Turk, the professed enemy of Christ and the Christian faith, has his seat and residence, as amongst the seven hills of Old Rome, where the Pope resides. Or if his sitting in the temple of God,* shows us where to find him, we may as well look for him in the temple of St. Sophia, now a Turkish mosque, as in St. Peter's Church at Rome, still a Christian temple." Thus Dr. Heylin.

If it be objected first, that St. John † speaks of the great city which reigns over the kings of the earth. To this it may be answered, that it is not plain from the text, whether these words relate to the time in which St. John wrote, or to the time represented in the vision. ‡

If it be again objected, that all the fathers, in a manner, understand St. John's Babylon of Rome, in a state of paganism and infidelity. It may be answered, that of this the Catholic Church has no apostolical tradition beyond the bare words of the holy scripture. And the consent of the fathers, how unanimous soever, is not an argument of absolute certainty, unless they be witnesses of apostolical tradition. Besides, how could Church writers, without a miracle, foresee either that Constantinople would be, before the year of Christ 330, or that it would be the head of the Turkish empire before the year 1453?

* 2 Thess. ii., 4. † Apoc. xvii., 18. ‡ Apoc. xvii.

VI. The third opinion is, that Babylon in the Apocalypse is not taken for any particular city, but for a collection of all wicked men. Or that Rome will hereafter be conquered by the Turks, or other infidels; that it will be the head of an infidel and persecuting empire; and that it will at length be destroyed by ten of its confederate kings, in the manner described by St. John.

But the first of these interpretations is rather mystical than historical. The latter is wholly conjectural. For though it is not impossible that Rome may in the time to come be conquered by infidels, that it may become the head of an infidel and persecuting empire, and may be destroyed in such a manner as St. John relates; yet that this will happen in effect, is what we cannot, without a miracle, foresee.

VII. But which of these opinions soever be true, it was very unfair to print in the Bible these words, in capital letters,* "Mystery," "Babylon the Great," "the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth," as if they undoubtedly signified the Roman Church. Whereas this Church is either wholly unconcerned in the case, or it was by her that the errors and idolatry of Babylon were destroyed.

VIII. But that which makes this unfair policy still worse is, that both the scripture and the creed were false for many ages before the reformation, if the Church of Rome be St. John's Babylon.

For, if the creed be always true, Christ had in the ages, immediately before the reformation, one, holy,

* Apoc. xvii., 5.

Catholic, (that is orthodox and universal) and apostolical Church, the communion of saints. If the holy scripture be always true, Christ has always had a Church, such as the scripture describes it, that is, the pillar and support of truth, and the Church of all nations, always orthodox, always visible, always known, always spread over the earth.

But if the Church of Rome be the whore of Babylon; if she be guilty of those abominations with which she is charged, it is certain that Christ, for many ages immediately before the reformation, had no visible and orthodox Church spread over the world; he had no Church of many nations, which in the administration of sacraments, in preaching the word of God, in her public professions of faith, and in her terms of communion, did not authorize and require the belief of great and grievous errors. Consequently, both the scripture and the creed was false, for many ages before the reformation, if the Roman Church be St. John's Babylon.

QUESTION XVI.

Does not the scripture foretell a great and general apostasy, and that when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth.†*

To the first I answer, it does. But that the Catholic and orthodox Church, which is one, holy, and apostoli-

* 2 Thess. ii., 3. † Apoc. xx., 7, &c.

cal, which is the communion of saints, which is the pillar and support of truth, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, and with which Christ shall continue at all times, even to the end of the world; that this Church, I say, has apostatized is wholly inconsistent, both with the scripture and with the creed.

What apostasy then does St. Paul foretell? *

St. † Jerom thinks it is the revolt of barbarous nations from the Roman empire. Not that Christ would come to judge the world, as soon as that revolt should happen; but that he would not come before it. So the scripture says, that after the destruction of Jerusalem Christ will come to judgment. ‡ Not that there will not be a considerable time betwixt the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world; but that the Son of God, in the texts now mentioned, to keep us in a necessary suspense, thought fit to pass over the several occurrences of that interval. If you ask me why St. Paul, if he meant the Roman empire, did not name it? To this St. Jerom answers: the reason was that he might not appear disaffected to the empire, and so give it an occasion of persecuting the Christians.

Others understand the apostasy, § of a revolt of heretics from the Catholic Church. As Simon Magus, and others departed from it in the first century. As the Greeks revolted from it in the eleventh century; several other nations in the sixteenth; and the Catholic Church may, for ought we know, be the national

* 2 Thess. ii., 3. † S. Hieron. Epist. cli. ad Algasiam. Quest. xi.
‡ St. Luke xxi., 24, 25, 26, 27. St. Mark xiii., 24, &c. St. Mat. xxiv., 29, 30, 31. § 2 Thess. ii., 3.

Church of no one kingdom in the universe, before the end of the world. As it was the Church of all nations, and the Catholic Church in the first century; though the Catholic religion, as far as it appears, was not then the national and governing religion of any kingdom or nation whatsoever.

Of these two explanations of St. Paul, the second seems to be the more probable. If so, the apostasy of which he speaks,* has had, or may have, the name of a reformation.

II. To the second,† I answer, that the holy scripture is true, although the history should contain either a few years more or less than a thousand.

"This vision," says ‡ Grotius, "of binding Satan for a thousand years, shows that the tranquillity which Constantine and his successors gave to the Church, will be long indeed, but that it will not continue to the end of the world."

So Dr. Hammond, § "And I saw another representation, by which I discerned what should succeed the conversion of heathen Rome to Christianity, viz. a tranquillity and flourishing state of Christianity, from the time of Constantine's coming to the empire. And an angel secured the devil, by all ways of security, binding, locking, and sealing him up, that he might not deceive and corrupt the world, as till then he had done, but permit the Christian profession to flourish till these thousand years were at an end, and after that he should get loose again for some time, and make some havoc in

* 2 Thess. ii., 3.
† Apoc. xx., 7, &c.
‡ Apoc. xx. Grotius in Apoc. xx., 1.
§ Apoc. xx., p. 996.

the Christian world. This is the first resurrection, that is a flourishing condition of the Church, under the Messias.* Blessed and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection; on such the second death, hell, has no power." Thus Dr. Hammond.

III. As this exposition of the thousand years appears to be the most probable, let us see from whence it may or must be dated. Constantine gave heathen worship a deadly wound, when he published his first edict in favor of Christians, anno Christ 312. "But after the emperors were Christians, heathenism," says Dr. † Hammond, "still continued in Rome, and in the empire, in some degree, till by the coming of the Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, under Alaricus, Gensericus, and Attilas, the city and empire of Rome was, all the heathen part of it, destroyed, and Christianity fully victorious over it. The city having been taken by Alaricus and the Goths, anno Christ 410, and by Gensericus and the Vandals, anno 455."

The public worship of heathenism ceased in Rome, anno ‡ Christ 399. And this religion was wholly, or in a manner wholly extinct there by the end of the following century. Theodosius the younger, anno 423, speaks of pagans, as if he thought there were none left in the eastern empire, as Dr. Cave, in his Apostolici, observes. § Yet three years after he was forced to make another law against them. "This," says Dr. Cave, ‖ "it seems, was a parting blow, for heathenism dwindled

* V. 6. † In Apoc. xx., 7. page 998. col. 2.
‡ Tillem. des Emp. Tom. v., pages 305, 511, 513.
§ Page 315. ‖ Page 316.

into nothing; and that little that was left crept into holes and corners, to hide its head, according to the prediction long since of the prophet Isaiah." * So that if heathen Rome be St. John's Babylon, we may date the ruin of it from about the year of Christ 500; which shows where the thousand years will end.

For, if these be counted from the edict of Constantine, anno 312, they will end in the fourteenth century, anno 1312. At which time the Ottoman or Turkish empire, had stood only eleven or twelve years, as Mr. Whiston observes in his Essay on the Revelation. † But it is perhaps more probable, that they ought to be reckoned from the fall of Babylon. For this fall, and the consequences of it, are described by St. John, in the three precedent chapters. ‡

Now if the thousand years be reckoned from this fall, anno 500, they will end in the year fifteen hundred. And we are sensible what tragedies in religion have been acted since. And if Gog and Magog, § are Luther and Calvin, who knows how far their reformations may be yet pushed, before the coming of Anti-Christ at the end of the world, though we have no reason to think it to be very far off?

IV. But whether the thousand years of St. John be counted from the year 312, or from the year 500, these consequences will follow:

First, That the reign of Anti-Christ did not begin in the first thousand years from the birth of Christ. For

* Chap. ii., 18, 19, 20.
† Pages 181, 185.
‡ xvii., xviii., xix.
§ Apoc. xx., 8.

till then, and for some centuries afterwards, Satan was bound.*

Secondly, That those were happy, who were living members of the Catholic Church in the first thirteen centuries. Because they lived and reigned with Christ.† This is the first resurrection,‡ to wit, from sin. "Blessed and holy is he, who has part in the first resurrection; on such the second death, to wit, hell, has no power."§

Thirdly, That those are still happy, who are living members of the Catholic Church. For since the year thirteen hundred, her faith has not been changed.

Fourthly, That Mr.‖ Whiston's dream of the Anti-Christian state, beginning in the year of Christ, 456, is contrary to scripture. As his¶ nine whimsical demonstrations, that the Papacy was to expire in the year of Christ, 1716, are contrary to experience. And he has lived to see himself fairly confuted, after all the nicety of his calculations from the Apocalypse, and from the tyranny of the little horn.

But, if the thousand years of St. John relate to this mortal state, either from the year 312, or from the year 500, why does he suppose, that the souls of the martyrs only, and of other saints who had not adored the beast, lived and reigned with Christ in the thousand years?** Because none reign with Christ over the earth at present, but either his mortal, or his blessed and immortal servants. Of whom the words of †† Grotius

* Apoc. xx., 2. † Apoc. xx., 4, ‡ V. 5. § V. 6.
‖ In his Essay on the Revelation, page 82. ¶ Ib. p. 271, 272, &c.
** Apoc. xx., 4, 5. †† Grot. in Apoc. xx., 4.

are very remarkable. "As Christ," says he, "from heaven reigns over the earth, so do the martyrs under him reign over it, as appears by the miraculous cures done at their shrines, and by the public honor, which the Church gave them." Nor does Grotius wholly exclude the other saints. For upon the following verse, (the rest of the dead lived not, till the thousand years were over.) "Except the martyrs," says * he, "and such as the grace of God, made equal to them."

QUESTION XVII.

Does not the Spirit say expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving ear to seducing spirits, and to the doctrine of devils; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving?†

Answer, YES. But did the apostles teach the doctrine of devils, when they commanded the first Christians, that converted Jews and Gentiles might be more easily cemented into one communion, to abstain from blood, and from strangled meats?‡ For were not these also created to be received with thanksgiving? since every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.§

Did the great and general Council of Chalcedon,

* Grot. in Apoc. xx., 5.
† 1 Tim. iv., 1, 3.
‡ Acts xv., 28, 29.
§ 1 Tim. iv., 3, 4.

anno 451, teach the doctrine of devils, when it decreed,* that it is not lawful for a nun consecrated to God, or for a monk to marry. And if found to do this, they shall be excluded from communion? And that† if a deaconess married, and by so doing scandalized the grace of God, both she and her husband should be excommunicated? Did the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, when it received the four first general Councils, one of which is this very Council at Chalcedon, approve of a synod which teaches the doctrine of devils? If not, the Catholic Church does not teach the doctrine of devils, when she forbids nuns, monks, and others, who have vowed chastity, to marry.

Did St. Paul teach the doctrine of devils,‡ when he said of widows consecrated to God, "They will marry, having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith given to the Church?" Let us hear Dr.§ Hammond: "They will relieve themselves by marrying; which is a great crime in them, to wit, that of violating their faith to the Church, a kind of conjugal tie, that they would attend it alone, and not forsake it; which when they do, and return again to the world, what is it but giving the Church a bill of divorce, and marrying another husband?" I will not ask, whether this divine of the Church of England taught the doctrine of devils, or not. But did the apostle, on whom he comments, do it, because he would not suffer those widows to marry?

* Conc. Chalced. Can. xvi., p. 763. B. Tom. 4. Conc. Labb.
† Ibid. Can. xv. A.
‡ Tim. v., 11, 12.
§ Paraph. on 1 Tim., v. 11, 12, page 737.

If not, this impeachment of the Catholic Church is wholly groundless and void.

II. But before we come to more particulars, let us see, what the learned Grotius thought of it. He tells us, that St.* Paul instructs his disciple,† especially against the Pythagorean philosophers, the chief of whom were addicted to magic. A famous man of this sect, and one whom St. Paul describes, was Appolonius Tyanæus. For he came to Ephesus, whilst St. Timothy was living. St. Clement of Alexandria, says, It is a doctrine of the magicians, as well as of Tatian, and the Encratites, "To abstain from the use of wine, of creatures which had life, and from the use of marriage." Nor did they dissuade from marriage, by giving the preference to a single life, for in this sense Christians may do it, but they held wedlock utterly unlawful, and that married persons could not be saved. Thus the learned Grotius.

Dr. Hammond understands the text‡ in the same manner. "Many heretics," says§ he, "there were in the ancient Church, who prohibited marriage, and taught abstinence from meats as necessary, having much of their doctrine from the Pythagorean philosophers. Such were the Encratites, Montanists, and Marcionites." And indeed, that this was generally the doctrine of the Gnostics, appears from Clemens Alexander Stromatum,‖ where speaking of them, he says, "Under a pretence of continency, they commit a villainy against the creation and the Creator, teaching

*1 Tim. iv. †Grotius, in 1 Tim. iv., 1, 3.
‡1 Tim., iv., 1, 3. §Paraph, page 735. ‖Lib. 3.

that men ought not to receive marriage, nor to get children." And again,* "There are some," says St. Clement, "who affirm marriage to be fornication;" "that is," says Dr. Hammond, "utterly unlawful, and that it is brought in and delivered by the devil."

For this both Grotius and Dr. Hammond quote the Constitutions, concerning ancient heretics.† "They despise marriage, and say it is not the work of God. ‡ They say that men ought not to marry, and that they must abstain from flesh meat and wine; that it is a detestable thing to marry, to beget children, and to eat flesh meat.§ Some of them say, they must only abstain from swine's flesh, and may eat what the Mosaical law permits.

III. The latter times, mentioned by St. Paul, are what St. John called the "last time," or rather the ‖ "last hour." And consequently they include the apostolical age, and the first centuries, in which this prediction was literally verified as to both its parts. So that nothing but ignorance, or something worse, could apply them to the practice of the Catholic Church; which never thought marriage of itself unlawful, for how can a sacrament be so? though she has always held that vows made to God ought to be kept. And this the scripture itself has taught her.¶

IV. Some heathen philosophers, in St. Paul's time, condemned marriage, and in this were followed by several heretics. We have heard what Grotius says of the Pythagoreans.

*P. 446. † Lib. vi. Constit. Cap. viii. ‡ Ibid. Cap. x.
§ 1 Tim. iv. 3. ‖ 1 John, ii., 18. ¶ Deut. xxiii., 21, 22.

That marriage is from the devil, was, in the second century, the opinion of Satornilus, or Saturninus; and after him, of Marcion, of the Adamites, of Julius Cassian, of Tatian with his followers, the Encratites; and in the third century, of the Hieracites, and of the Manichæans. The Priscillianists also condemned it in the fourth century.

1. Of Saturninus and his sect St. * Irenæus tells us, "They say, that to marry and to beget children is from the devil."

So Theodoret: † "Saturninus was the first who called marriage the doctrine of the devil."

And St. Epiphanius: ‡ "Saturninus says, that to marry and to get children is from the devil; whence the greatest part of that sect abstain from eating flesh or fish."

2. Of Marcion, Tertullian says, "that § he rejects marriage as wicked, and the work of immodesty."

St. Clement of Alexandria says, ‖ "The Marcionites are not chaste by their own free choice, but out of hatred to the Creator, having an impious persuasion that it is a wicked thing to have children." Theodoret ¶ attests the same.

3. Of the Adamites, called also Prodicians, from Prodicus, a lewd disciple of Carpocrates, St. ** Augustine

* St. Iren. Lib. 1. Cap. xxii. † Theodor. L. 1. Hæret. Fab. Cap. iii.
‡ St. Epiphan. Hær. xxiii. § 2.
§ Tert. Lib. 1. con. Marc. Cap. xxiv.
‖ St. Clem. Alex. Lib. 3. Strom. p. 431. C. an. 1629, 1641.
¶ Theodor. V. Lib. Hær. Fab. Cap. xviv., p. 304.
** St. Aug. L. de Hær. Cap. xxxi.

says, "They imitate the nakedness of Adam in Paradise before his sin." Hence they detest marriage.

4. Of Julius Cassian, a disciple of Valentinus, Monsieur * Tillemont informs us, from St. Clement of Alexandria, that his aversion to marriage and to the procreation of children carried him so far, as to say that Christ did not assume a real body of the blessed Virgin Mary.

5. Of Tatian, author of the Encratites, Theodoret says, "That † he and Saturninus styled marriage openly the work of the devil."

So St. Jerom. ‡ "Tatian thinks that every joining of the male and female is unclean."

And St. Irenæus, who wrote in the second century, "Tatian, § apostatizing from the Church, declared that marriage is lewdness and fornication, as Marcion and Saturninus had done."

6. "The Hieracites," says St. ‖ Augustine, "deny the resurrection, and receive none but monks, nuns, and unmarried persons into their communion."

7. The Manichæan sect consisted of two parts; one called the elect, or perfect Manichæans, the other Hearers, and imperfect. These alone were permitted to till the earth, to eat fish and flesh, to drink wine, to marry, but not ¶ to beget children, as St. Augustine, who was nine years amongst the Hearers, assures us, nor ** to kill any animal.

* Memoires Eccles. Tom. ii., p. 55. † Theod. Lib. v. Hær. Fab. Cap. xxiv. ‡ St. Hier. in Gal. vi., 8.
§ St. Iren. Lib. 1. Cap. xxxi. ‖ St. Aug. Lib. de Hæres. Cap. xlvii. ¶ St. Aug. Lib. de Hæres. Cap. xlvi.
** St. Aug., ibidem.

The Manichæans, as well as the Marcionites, were professed enemies of our Creator, whom they called Satan, matter, darkness, and the prince of the world. I mean the Creator of our bodies, and in their wicked system, of one of our two souls.

Manichæus, says * Theodoret, calls marriage the sanction of the devil.

And in another place † Manichæus says, "That marriage is a co-operater with matter: and therefore he commands the virginal state."

So St. Augustine: "The Manichæans," says ‡ he, "think and preach that the devil made and joined the male and female. § They condemn marriage," says he, "without doubt, and forbid it as much as they can, since they forbid generation, which is the end of marriage."

8. Of the Priscillianists St. Augustine says, ‖ "This heresy, when married people are inclined to it, separates husbands from wives against their will, and wives from husbands. For Priscillianists attribute the making of all flesh, not to the good and true God, but to wicked angels."

St. Leo, writing to St. Turibius, says of them: ¶ "they condemn marriage, and abhor the begetting of children, in which, as in most other points, they agree with the profaneness of the Manichæans."

* Theod. Lib. 1. Hær. Fab. Cap. xvi., p. 213. D.
† Theod. ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. xxiv., p. 304. D. ar. 1642.
‡ Lib. xix. Con. Faustum. Cap. xxix. § St. Aug. Hær. xlvi.
‖ Hær. lxx.
¶ Epist. xciii. Cap. vii. Tom. 3. Conc. Lab., p. 1413. B.

And the 2d Council of * Braga, anno 563, if any one condemns marriage, and abhors the begetting of children, as Manichæus and Priscillian have done, let him be Anathema.

V. All, or most of the heresies now mentioned, abhorred several sorts of meat and drink, especially flesh and wine, as of their own nature unlawful. Theodoret says of these heretics in general: † they command us to abstain from wine and flesh meat, as from things detestable.

And, in particular, of Saturninus, Marcion, and Tatian, he says: ‡ "Tatian learned, from Saturninus and Marcion, to detest marriage, and the use of flesh meat, and of wine; from which they abstain, and abominate them as wicked."

St. Augustine tells the Manichæans: § "You say that when the sensitive soul leaves the flesh, an excessive filth ensues; and that therefore the soul of those is defiled who eat flesh meat. The Manichæans held also, that ‖ wine is the gall of the devil."

Of the Priscillianists, St. Augustine says: ¶ "they abstain from flesh meat, thinking it to be unclean."

And the 2d Council at Braga: ** "If any one thinks flesh meats to be unclean, which God gave for men's use; and, not by way of mortification, but for their supposed uncleanness, abstains from them so, that he will

* Can. xi. Tom. v. Conc. Lab., p. 838. CD. Vide etiam Can. xii. and xiii., ibidem. † Lib. v. Hær. Fab. Cap. xxix., p. 316. D.
‡ Theodor. D. 1. Hær. Fab. Cap. xx., p. 208.
§ L. de Mor. Manich. C. xv. ‖ L. de Mor. Manich. Cap. xvi.
¶ Hær. lxx. ** Braccar. ii., an. 563. Can. xiv., p. 838 DE. Tom. 5. Conc. Labb.

not even taste herbs boiled with flesh, as Manichæus and Priscillian have taught; let him be Anathema."

VI. At the same time, this synod shows us the difference betwixt the doctrine of Catholics and that of Manichæans and Priscillianists. Catholics abstained from flesh meat at certain times, by way of mortification, for controlling the body. A Manichæan abstained always from it, thinking it to be unclean, and therefore he was a heretic, such as St. Paul foretold.* But to suppose the Catholic Church engaged in the same error is little better than stupidity. For is he not stupid, who can persuade himself that it is unlawful to abstain from flesh meat, by way of mortification? But it is only for this end that Catholics are forbid to eat flesh at certain times of the year; and not because the eating of it is of itself unlawful. Which then is the harder task? To excuse in this the Catholic Church from error? Or to excuse those from error or stupidity who accuse her of it? For if some sensual Catholics are so far Manichæans, as to indulge their appetite in the use of meats not absolutely forbidden, either by intemperance, or by cost and delicacy: as they feel nothing of mortification, for which alone abstinence is commanded; so they act directly against the intention of the Catholic Church, and against the end of the precept, whilst they observe the letter: and are too nearly allied to their religious hypocrites, who, in the language of the gospel, have received their reward.

VII. The apostle, indeed, says St. † Jerom, rejects those who forbid marriage, and commanded men to ab-

* 1 Tim. iv. † St. Hieron. Lib. 2. Con. Jovin. Cap. 2.

stain from meats, which God has created to be used with thanksgiving. But he means Marcion and Tatian, and the other heretics, who proclaim a continual abstinence, to reject, to despise, and to abominate the works of the Creator. But we both praise every creature of God, and think, that it is better to be lean than to be fat, to abstain than to be luxurious, and to fast rather than to be full.

St. Chrysostom says upon the same text:* St. Paul speaks this of the Manichæans, of the Encratites, of the Marcionites, and of the rest of their crew, that in the latter times some will depart from the faith. "Do not wonder," says he, "if some at present, apostatizing from the faith, are engaged in the Jewish superstition. The time will come when Christians will do this in a more wicked manner, not only with regard to meats, but even to marriage, and to all such things."

Theodoret says on the same text:† "They call both marriage and many sorts of meats detestable, to affront the Creator." Theophylactus understands the words of St. Paul in the same manner.

St. Augustine tells the Manichæans:‡ "When the apostle had said, § to abstain from meats, &c.," he adds, ‖ "for every creature of God is good." "This you deny: with this intention, this will, under this persuasion, you abstain from such meats, that they are evil, and unclean by nature. In which doubtless you blaspheme their Creator. It is this that belongs to the doctrine of

* St. Chrysostom, 1 Tim. iv., 1.
† Theod. in 1 Tim. iv., 3.
‡ Lib. xxx. Con. Faus. Cap. v.
§ 1 Tim. iv. 3.
‖ Verse 4.

devils! Do not wonder then, that this was prophesied of you so long since by the Holy Spirit."

And in another treatise: "St. Paul," says * he, "evidently meant the Manichæans, when he said, that in the latter times there will be some forbidding to marry, and abstaining from meats, which God has created." Thus St. Augustine.

Hence St. Leo: † "Abstinence," says he, "indeed is profitable, which being used to a spare diet, curbs the desire of delicacy. But woe be to the doctrine of those (the Manichæans) who sin even by fasting. For by condemning the nature of creatures, they affront the Creator; and say, that men are defiled by the use of those things which they suppose to have been made by the devil, not by God. But you, the holy offspring of your Catholic mother, whom the Holy Spirit has instructed in the school of truth, use your liberty with due moderation, knowing that it is good to abstain even from lawful things; and when you ought to live in a more mortified manner, so to distinguish betwixt meats that their use may be removed, not their nature condemned."

VIII. If the apostles had commanded the first Christians ‡ to abstain from eating blood and strangled meats, by way of mortification, their precept must, or at least might still have been in force; as it was observed in many parts of the Catholic Church long after the first centuries. But it is more probable, that the whole intention and end of that injunction, was only to

* Lib. con. Adimantum. Cap. xiv.

† St. Leo Serm. iv. de Jejun. Quadrag. Cap. iv.

‡ Acts xv., 28, 29.

make it more easy for converted Jews to enter into the same society with converted Gentiles. And as the general end of this precept expired after the first ages, so the obligation of it ceased. For all human laws, as such, are subject to this rule. "And since the present state of the Gentile Church is such," says St. * Augustine, "that no carnal Israelite appears in it, what Christian is now so nice, that he will not touch thrushes, or small birds, unless their blood be spilt? Or will not eat a hare, or rabbit, if killed by a stroke of a hand on the back of the neck, without a bloody wound? And those few Christians, perhaps, who are still afraid to touch these things, are laughed at by the rest."

IX. But when did the practice and precept of abstaining from flesh on certain days, begin in the Catholic Church? Of this every one is at liberty to think as he pleases. The practice might be, or was from † the beginning. But it is probable, that the precept was not everywhere received. till after the fifth century.

QUESTION XVIII.

Is the Church in Communion with the Bishop and See of Rome, the Catholic Church?

Answer. For this there are chiefly two arguments.

First, That is the Catholic Church, from which all Christian sects have been cut off in their respective

* St. Aug. Lib. xxxii. con. Faustum. Cap. xiii.

† Nat. Alexandre. in Sæc. ii. Dissert. iv. Art. ii.

times. But all sects which are, or ever were in Christendom, have, in their respective times, been cut off from the Church in communion with the bishop and see of Rome, which St. * Cyprian calls the principal see, from whence the unity of priesthood is risen.

In the first and second century, besides Philetus,† who denied the resurrection, and ‡ Hymenœus and Alexander, whom St. Paul delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme; the disciples of Simon the Sorcerer, of Menander, the Gnostics, the Cerinthians, the Nazaræans, the Ebionites, the Nicolaites, the Cainites, the Eleesaites, the disciples of Saturninus, of Basilides, of Carpocrates, of Valentinus, of Marcion, of Tatian, the Ophites, the § Montanists, and the Adamites were cut off from her.

In the third and fourth century, the Theodotians, who held that Christ was only a man, the Novatians, the Sabellians, the Manichæans, the Hieracites, the Donatists, the ‖ Arians, the Macedonians, whom the

* St. Cyp. Ep. lv. † 2 Tim. ii., 17, 18. ‡ 1 Tim. i., 19, 20.

§ But did not Pope Eleutherius, or rather Pope Victor, favor the Montanists in the beginning? By misinformation he did. But when Praxeas had given him a true account of their doctrine, he cut them off from his communion, as a wicked sect. Tillem. Mem. Eccles. Tom. 2. page 713. col. 2.

‖ Did not Pope Liberius, anno 357, condemn St. Athanasius, communicate with the Arians, and sign their creed? He did very ill, of which see Monsieur Tillemont, Tom. 6, page 419. But 1st, In the creed which he signed to regain his see, after he had been two years banished from it, which creed was the first at Sirmium, anno 351, the Arian error was not expressed. 2dly, The bishops, with whom he communicated, did not profess it in such terms, as could not possibly bear a Catholic interpretation. For even the

second general Council calls * Semi-Arians, the Apolinarians, the Messalians, and the Priscillianists were cut off from her.

In the fifth century, the Pelagians, the Nestorians, and the Eutychians were cut off from her. And the two last sects continued separated from her in the sixth, and are not yet extinct.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, the † Monothelites, so called, because they believed only one will in Christ, and the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, were cut off from her.

In the ninth century, the Manichæans re-appeared. And some of the former sects continued in the tenth.

In the eleventh century the Berengarians, who denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ under the sacramental signs, and the Greeks, under Cerularius, were cut off from the Church in communion with Rome. So were the Vaudois, or Waldenses in the twelfth.

In the thirteenth century, the Albigenses were cut off from her, and the Wickliffites in the fourteenth. In

second creed at Sirmium, how wickedly soever intended, was capable of this sense. 3dly, He condemned the person, not the doctrine of St. Athanasius. 4thly, When in a peaceable possession of his see, he soon repented of what he had done, made profession of the Nicene creed, and reconciled himself to St. Athanasius, says Monsieur Du Pin. Vol. 2., page 63, of the English translation of his Bibliotheque.

* Can, 1. page 946. E, Tom. 2. Conc. Labb.

† Did not Pope Honorius favor the Monothelites? He did. But the Catholic Church, had not then condemned, or examined their error; nor were they at that time a separate sect.

the fifteenth century, the Hussites, called Calixtines, because they held, that the laity are commanded to drink of the chalice, were cut off from her.

So were the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Anabaptists, and the Socinians, or Antitrinitarians, in the sixteenth century, and the Quakers in the seventeenth.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mr. Whiston and Dr. Clarke have endeavored to re-establish Arianism; a heresy, which was so long since, and so justly condemned by the Catholic Church in the first general Council, anno 325, and by all, both Greek and Latin fathers since, as by St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, St. Hilarius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, and St. Augustine. And if the new reformers succeeded at home, in this wicked attempt, what can they expect, but the pity, if not the indignation, of all good men, and the censure of the Catholic Church?

II. The second argument is this. If the gospel and the creed be always true, Christ has always upon earth, a Church, which is the communion of saints, which is one, holy, apostolical, universal, and orthodox. If one, it is not in separate and disagreeing communions. If holy, it is never guilty of teaching wicked, idolatrous, profane, and unrevealed doctrine. If apostolical, it has both its pastors and its faith, in an uninterrupted succession, and within its own communion, from the apostles. If universal, it is always in being, always known, always visible. If orthodox, it never misleads us, either in the primary or in the secondary articles of religion, nor does it state the terms of communion

wrong. Indeed how can the communion of saints do this? And is she not a sure guide, if she cannot do it? Hence Catholics say, that the universal Church is infallible, in deciding controversies of religion. But by this infallibility, as far as faith is concerned in the question, nothing else is meant, but only the perpetual orthodoxy of the universal Church.

III. If it can then be proved, that the properties now mentioned of the Catholic Church, agree with any other society upon earth, distinct from the Church in communion with the bishop and see of Rome, that society is the Catholic Church. But, if no such society can be found, the case is altered.

FINIS.

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